

Ideology
And
jectives

IDEOLOGY AND OBJECTIVES

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PREFACE

Ideas and ideologies are soul of societies; they motivate human beings and sustain them in the frightening struggle for existence. People devoid of them are devoid of will to live and soon get degenerated into unthinking animals.

Alongside physical battles are also being waged battles of ideas. Ideas are conceived by human beings, no doubt, but once they are conceived they get the controlling position. The relative value of each idea or ideology is therefore of paramount importance for the sustenance of human society or survival of a particular community.

Pakistan's creation was the result of an ideological struggle, as all genuine struggles are. The ideology which motivated its creation appeared on the stage of history as an international and human movement and guided mankind for several centuries.

This is an old ideology, unlike communism or capitalism, but amongst the spiritual ideologies it is the latest, rather the last, to be unfolded to mankind.

President Ayub has been pondering over the basic purposes and motivations of this ideology, and after assumption of power he has placed clear objectives before the nation. This book embodies his statements on various occasions and reveals the main features of Pakistan's ideology and the objectives to be achieved by the people.

Ideas cannot exist as abstractions nor ideologies can survive without being manifested in the physical world. They must nourish human vitality and in turn get nourishment from the very activity which they generate in the people. Thus ideas and ideologies must be reflected through a nationwide productive effort. If we cage them like birds just to look at their shining "plumes" or to "talk" to them at our sweet will, we shall cripple them, and with that we shall also cripple ourselves.

Once addressing a gathering of teachers and parents at Dacca, President Ayub referred to the need of harmony in the national outlook. He expressed apprehension about a specific practice in the field of education, which, he felt, would create schism in our society. He said, "There is another thing which is disturbing, and which is this. We talk about Islam as being a comprehensive religion which embraces all walks of life, and yet in our educational pattern we have religious schools, madrassahs, and we have secular schools, where modern education is given. Now that creates a great schism. It is a very dangerous thing. As time goes on, the society will get more and more divided, and more and more at loggerheads with each other. I think time has come that both these types of institutions should be amalgamated. There is no reason for them to be run on parallel lines. The rudiments of both can be combined and religious education, together with secular education, can be given so that we produce balanced, wholesome people who do their normal work, mundane work of life, at the same time remembering moral and spiritual values of their ideology. That will

be the correct blending, and that is what is the teaching of Islam and the Holy Quran. This is what it teaches us to do, to lead this life in wholesome fashion, and that you can do only if you have some moral values, and if you are given the religious education together with mundane and secular education. I would like to appeal to those who are conducting these two types of education to give this matter a thought as a matter of very great importance for Pakistan. If this does not happen, people will give up their religion in course of time. They will know nothing about it and if they do nothing about it, very well, human beings cannot live without a philosophy, without an ideology, and they will look for some other forms of ideologies, and they will find those ideologies after a lot of disruption and a lot of frustration. And we do not want our people to get frustrated". The present book illustrates this thinking more elaborately.

One of the greatest proofs of our ideological vitality and clarity of objectives was provided during the Indian aggression in September, 1965. We were attacked by a monstrous enemy but we faced him with uncommon courage and conviction. How we repelled the aggression was reported by foreign newsmen, and extracts from their reports are being included at the end as Appendix.

For the convenience of the reader, the book has been divided into two parts. Part One concerns mainly ideology of Pakistan, while Part Two deals with the national objectives.

Part One

MEANING OF PAKISTAN

ADDRESS AT THE CLOSING SESSION OF THE PAKISTAN WRITERS CONVENTION

By itself Pakistan has no meaning unless we achieve the objectives for which we fought. These objectives are a better, a happier and a more comfortable life and fuller, more creative and more assertive life for the people of Pakistan. That has to be the ideology of Pakistan.

We are under tremendous fire from all directions; the whole mankind is under tremendous pressure. In the past there used to be battles for human bodies. Today there are ceaseless battles going on for human minds. Our mind is the mind of Islam. There are definite efforts being made from all directions to subvert it and to divert it. Well, what is the answer to that? Does it mean that we go back to the shell of mediaevalism? So what you have to do is to express the principles of Islam in the language of the modern mind, and the language of the modern mind is the language of a spirit. That must not be allowed to become a vacuum. But also it must be the language of science, the language of economics and the language of current affairs; because the world is getting too small, we are to fit in and play our part.

January 1, 1959

(Collected Speeches— Vol: I pages 56 and 57)

NATIONAL PROGRESS

SPEECH AT THE UNIVERSITY GROUNDS LAHORE

When we talk of national progress, we draw mental images of vast, sprawling cities, of gigantic ceaseless factories and tall stately buildings. These are, no doubt, necessary features of material progress. But these are not enough by themselves. A nation's advancement is incomplete without moral and spiritual progress. One of the principal basis for the emergence of Pakistan was to provide us with a homeland in which we could mould our lives freely on an Islamic pattern. Without the Islamic way of life, Pakistan is no more than a mere wasteland. But within a few years of the creation of Pakistan, our politicians led us away from the Islamic way of life and exploited the name of Islam to achieve their nefarious designs. In the process they nurtured among our people wrong values and unwholesome aspirations. Wealth and power became the main purpose in life. Those who had wealth were engaged in the pursuit of power, and those who had power devoted themselves to acquiring wealth. And those who claimed to be custodians of religious learning ran after both wealth and power and did not stop short at any mischief.

In this ding-dong battle for power and wealth, politicians dragged the name of Islam only to desecrate it. And when a sacred trust like religion is subjected to such mundane stress and strain, the moral fibre of the nation is weakened. That is precisely what happened in our country. From the very day that Islam was exploited to further political ends, moral standards became so low that officials indulged in bribery and corruption, smugglers went scot free and traders practised blackmarketing with impunity. This sordid atmosphere seriously affected our national character. It is now our bounden duty to raise the moral standards of our people.

February 25, 1959 *(Collected Speeches—Vol : I page 65)*

THE ANTIDOTE

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS AT THE INTERNATIONAL SEERUT-UN-NABI CONFERENCE KARACHI

The ills of the present have only one antidote: hard work, honest work, clean work. There exists no other miracle that can bring meaning to the life of an individual or of a nation.

It is easy to recite the Kalma and be called a Muslim. It is not difficult, either, to recite Darood and Salam to show one's belief and faith in the Prophet of God. But it is action that finally counts. Your faith in the Prophet would be proved only when you make the human qualities of the Prophet the pattern of your practical life. I pray to God that He may give to all of us the inclination and the ability to do so.

March 1, 1959 (*Collected Speeches— Vol: I page* 73)

PAKISTAN NOT JUST NOMENCLATURE

SPEECH AT A PUBLIC MEETING IN RAWALPINDI

Our foremost duty is to revive and revitalise the ideology for which Pakistan emerged a free and independent nation. Pakistan is not just a nomenclature for a vast territory inhabited by over 80 million people. By Pakistan we mean a nation with definite moral and spiritual values, and these values are based on Islam. The so-called modern men consider it out of fashion to talk of Islam. Such men are to be pitied. It should, indeed, be a matter of great pride to us that we are followers of a religion that teaches such great values as fear of God, love of mankind, sympathy towards one's neighbour, care of the orphans and help to the poor. These are the basic Islamic principles of life without which you can neither make a good human being nor a good Pakistani.

Along with our endeavour to revive the moral and spiritual basis of our nation, we must exert ourselves to the utmost to build a progressive and prosperous Pakistan. By progress and prosperity, I do not mean merely the raising of big cities, huge factories or stately buildings. These are, no doubt, essential to national progress. But without correspondingly raising the level of our

standard of character and morality, we cannot raise our material standards in the true sense of the term.

If we have big cities and huge factories in our country and let selfishness, greed, nepotism, blackmarketing, smuggling, and corruption flourish, we shall not really have progressed at all: in fact, we shall have deteriorated as individuals and as a nation. To match material prosperity with moral progress, only one thing is required; and that is hard work, honest work, clean work: whatever your profession or calling, whatever duty entrusted to you, all you are required to do is to work with singleness of purpose and sincerity of devotion. Without these qualities in us, all talk of progress or prosperity becomes meaningless.

March 6, 1959

(*Collected Speeches— Vol: I page* 85)

ISLAM GAVE NEW MEANING AND PURPOSE TO HUMAN ENDEAVOUR

CONVOCATION ADDRESS AT THE DARUL ULOOM ISLAMIA TANDO ALLAH YAR

Some fourteen hundred years ago, Islam emerged on the scene as a great blessing. It was a dynamic and progressive movement which reshaped the entire pattern of life and gave a new meaning and purpose to man's endeavour. So long as this movement remained part and parcel of life itself, the followers of Islam continued to perform memorable deeds in the world of science and practical knowledge as had no parallel in history.

Unfortunately, with the passage of time, the Muslims at large sought to concentrate more on the dogmatic aspect of Islam and less on its inherent greatness as a movement. This resulted inevitably in a widening gap between life and religion which continues to affect our lives today. Islam came into being essentially to reduce this gap but it is an irony of fate that its followers themselves were caught in the yawning gap.

When the link between life and religion is snapped, life goes on in one direction or another, but religion is

reduced to a lifeless object incapable of resilience or progress, and it is confined to the precinct of mosques and mausoleums. Islam seems to have suffered this fate. While mankind has made great advances in science and philosophy, religion has remained static for centuries.

The miracle of Islam was that it destroyed idolatry, and the tragedy of the Muslims has been that they rendered religion into the form of an idol.

One dangerous result which it produced in our national outlook and culture was that those who progressed in the light of modern developments were dubbed wordly wise Muslims and those who clung to mere formalism and dogma and remained static claimed to be true Muslims. Gradually those who looked forward to progress and advancement came to be regarded as disbelievers and those who looked backward were considered devout Muslims. Every fresh advancement, every invention and every new educational system was suspected as a movement against Islam and that is why 'fatwas' were pronounced against the leaders of revolutionary movements among Muslims in almost every period of history.

The question now arises: how did it come to pass that a progressive religion like Islam became so static? Is it because we have strayed away from our true ideals and have failed to create a social and political system that can endure through changing times and changing values? Or is it because we have reduced our religion to a fairy

tale of djins and angels, hedging it with superstition and raising slogans of blind faith which have retarded man's creative urges? Or has it anything to do with that form of mysticism which has promoted an escapist mentality and confined life to the premises of tombs and monasteries ?

Or has it anything to do with the false belief that we can claim salvation hereafter without as much as making an effort? Have we forgotten that life after death is the fruit of our labour in this world and that we shall reap in heaven what we have sown on this earth?

These are vital questions. It is vital for us to get to the root cause of the factors which have cast the dynamic and ceaseless spirit of Islam into a lifeless and motionless mould. In our research for these factors we shall, no doubt, come across many a bitter, unpalatable reality, but it is our bounden duty to pursue our course undeterred and full of faith. One of the major factors in the disintegration of the world of Islam has been sectarianism. Whether right or wrong, sectarianism is there and it would be a folly to ignore this fact. Controversies raised over the issues as to which is the better sect can only lead to evil results.

Indeed, the right course is to emphasize the common features of agreement among the sects rather than their differences. Instead of finding faults with each other, will it not be enough for us to assert that in our fundamentals we are followers of one religion, because we all

believe in one God, one Prophet and one Book? It is our Ulema, more than the others, who can help in creating this atmosphere of oneness. You are repositories of learning, particularly of some of the specialised aspects of religion; but it will not be correct to confine the scope of your vast scholarship to a limited sphere.

In the progressive world of today, it is essential for the Ulema to acquaint themselves with the advancement of science, philosophy, economics, and contemporary history. It is equally incumbent upon those who are receiving modern education that they are conversant with the fundamentals of religion and its tenets.

Gentlemen, you are now, no doubt, aware that the world today is divided sharply into two camps. This conflict is based on differences of ideology. Communism is determined to impose its own ideology on the entire world, and an effective and complete answer to Communism has not yet been found in the West because Western ideology is based primarily on materialism. Values arising from materialism, no doubt, have a place in the scheme of things but they are not so important that mankind should sacrifice everything for their sake. In these circumstances, there is only one answer to Communism and that answer is to be found in Islam. Between the ideological doctrine of Communism and the materialistic values of the West, Islam alone provides a natural ideology that can save the soul of humanity from destruction.

It is a gross misconception to believe that only the Christian world is threatened by Communism. Events now taking place in the Middle East clearly indicate that the world of Islam is not immune from Communist danger. To meet the challenge of Communism it is essential that Islam should be retrieved from the recesses of the past and presented to the world in the light and language of today. It should not be presented merely as an ideology, but as a complete social, political, economic and spiritual code which is the quintessence of Islam. In this vital task also the Ulema can offer help and guidance.

So far as Pakistan is concerned, there is no doubt that we are faced with many problems, internal and external. By the grace of God, these problems can be solved in many ways; but the best way is to have implicit faith in our leadership and that whatever work is entrusted to us we apply ourselves whole-heartedly to it. It is the law of nature that man can exert himself to the utmost only when he has a clear objective in life. We are not only Muslims; we are also Pakistanis and in addition to being Pakistanis, we are Bengalis, Sindhis, Punjabis, Baluchis and Pathans.

The horizon of our objectives should be so vast that it can accommodate all these regional and natural perspectives. This is possible only if we have a code of life that is governed by principles based on unity, discipline, charity, decency, honesty, and integrity. These are the principles that are applicable to all places and at all times, and these very principles are embodied in

Islam. If we follow these principles sincerely and honestly, Pakistan will, Insha-Allah, become a living example of peace and goodwill not only for us, but for the world of Islam and may be the whole world.

The responsibility for achieving this objective rests on every Pakistani, but the role of the Ulema in fulfilling this responsibility is also very significant. Indeed, this objective is a sacred trust endowed to you by virtue of your learning and scholarship. If you fulfil this great responsibility God will bless you and history will remember you with gratitude.

May 3, 1959 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: I pages* 110 *to* 114)

MATERIAL ADVANCEMENT NOT THE ONLY GOAL

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS AT A PUBLIC RALLY IN LYALLPUR

No doubt, earning a livelihood is an important function of man, but material advancement is not the only goal of humanity. There are many other vital factors which raise the stature of man and contribute to the fuller realisation of his personality. Among these factors the most important one is character. If man's character is weakened he loses sight of the high ideals he has set for himself. In the last eight or ten years the principal cause of our national sufferings had been the loss of character resulting in the loss of the sight of our ideals. The basis of all evil is the placing of self above general good. Selfishness breeds avarice, greed, dishonesty, and untruthfulness. Intoxicated by self interest, man tends to sell even his own honour and that of his country. Therefore material advancement is not enough for the progress o' man. In fact, all material progress is meaningless until it is accompanied by growth of moral values and high sense of idealism. Without moral attributes mankind cannot truly claim to have made any progress.

What are these moral attributes? Fortunately we have been born Muslims. We do not therefore have to go very far to find an answer to this question. Yet unfortunately while we take the name of Islam with vociferous enthusiasm, we often fail to understand its true significance or to act upon its fundamental principles. One of the main reasons for this has been that many of our leaders regarded religion as exclusively their own domain and screened it away from the common man with a veil of abstruse knowledge or ignorance. The second main reason has been that religion has been auctioned shamefacedly by selfish individuals in the market of politics. Yet another reason has been that blind imitation of the West, aggravated by an unrealistic educational system, has kept most of the educated away from Islam almost as if it was a fashion to do so. This, of course, was a heritage of an alien rule.

October 12, 1959 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: II page 33)*

ISLAM—A WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT

FROM ADDRESS AT THE LAHORE BASIC DEMOCRACIES CONVENTION

Ordinarily, if we study Islamic history with an honesty of purpose, we come across only one example of a balanced, all-embracing and a practical type of Islam. Foreign education and blind assimilation of foreign influences have created in us an inferiority complex. For this reason it has become a sort of fashion to say that Islamic system of government has never proved successful.

This is a great injustice to Islam. You judge yourself: what other system could even be more successful than this system by which Islamic civilisation, Islamic justice, tolerance and a whole code of existence became in no time a worldwide movement?

Of course, when Muslims started to prune this great system with their own hands, their organisation became so much disintegrated that the Muslim nation has till this day not been able to regain its lost prestige.

Verbally, we make lofty professions about Islamic Constitution but when the time for putting them into practice comes we take resort to philosophies of Aristotle, Socrates and Plato by jettisoning our own traditions.

When our leaders put the label of Islamic Republic on the old Constitution they played a great joke both with Islam and Pakistan. Now these very worthies want to repeat the same joke. Gentlemen, we are all weak and sinning human beings. Atleast, I for one did not lay a claim to greatness, but as an humble Muslim it is at least our duty to render some service to Islam.

June 15, 1960 *Collected Speeches— Vol: II page* 144)

ISLAMIC BROTHERHOOD

MESSAGE ON HAJ DAY

This day, 1369 years ago, on the momentous occasion of the Hujjat-ul-Wida, the farewell pilgrimage, our Prophet (may God bless him), in his speech from Jable-e-Arafat said, "O people! listen to my words and understand them. Know that all Muslims are brothers one to another; ye are one fraternity".

Nothing less than universal human brotherhood is the aim of this message and the yearly pilgrimage, a most important institution of the culture of Islam, is a means to that end. It is on this Islamic pilgrimage where the king and the peasant, the rich and the poor, make no distinction whatsoever.

Ours is a brotherhood that no amount of cunning diplomacy or actual or threatened assaults of hostile armies could or would break. We the Muslims of Pakistan should reflect an abiding faith in the universal brotherhood enjoined by Islam.

June 2, 1960 (*Collected Speeches— Vol: II page* 152)

DYNAMIC MODERNISM OF ISLAM

EID-I-MILAD-UN-NABI DAY MESSAGE

The relentless quest for the unknown which the modern age has released will give recognition to religion only to the extent religion itself moves forward rather than backwards. This is a dangerous period in which the faith of man has to keep pace with his fast widening horizons of knowledge and comprehension.

The dynamic modernism of Islam contains all the attributes necessary to face the challenge of this new age, provided the Muslims themselves learn to pay real rather than mere lip service to the principles of their great faith instead of mere formalism. This is the truest homage which we can, on this day, resolve to pay to the endearing and noble life of Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him).

September 4, 1960 *(Collected Speeches—Vol: III page 16)*

TASKS AHEAD

BROADCAST TO THE NATION ON THE EVE OF SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTION

To comprehend life in its total richness, we must find in it a larger, a nobler and a more abiding purpose and direction. Without this higher purpose and direction, all material progress and prosperity is dunghill, or like rain on rocks where it stands and stagnates and does not fertilize.

Luckily for us, this purpose and direction of life is available to us in clear and unambiguous terms in the ideology of Islam. This term—the ideology of Islam—has often been used and abused to cover personal and political ambitions and inadequacies, and it has, in consequence, developed the meaning of an insincere platitude. But in the context of our national affairs today there is absolutely no need for us to seek the cover of any false slogans to project or justify our motives or actions.

Since the day of Revolution two years ago, our cards have constantly been on the table and the implication of what we have done or propose to do are not concealed. So it should be possible for us now to talk of higher

objectives of life more purposefully and with a greater spirit of detachment.

Speaking in this context, our first objective is to re-integrate our society and base it on the ideology of Islam—which, in fact, was the foremost purpose which justified the very creation of Pakistan. In order to be able to get to the starting point of this reintegration, we have to liberate our minds from two types of inhibitions. One type is born of modern education which under the circumstances of slavery rendered everything native, including religion, as something which is not quite fashionable. The second type is the product of inflexible dogma which has driven the spirit of religion into a black hole of prejudice, superstition and suffocation. Paradoxically, both these so-called educated and uneducated classes meet at one common platform; the platform of religious ignorance.

As Millat-i-Wasta (people of middle path), it should be our task to break both these extremes by promoting a sense of free inquiry which, when tempered with honesty of purpose and genuine fear of God, will enable us to order our individual and collective actions on the true principles of Islam, take lessons from the past and find ways and means for resolving our problems in the circumstances of today. One of the main teachings of the Quran is that life is a process of progressive creation and each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, must be permitted to solve its own problems.

Remember that change is the key-note of life. Nature wants man to change or perish. Iqbal, who has been one of the most enlightened interpreters of the spirit of Islam in the modern age, has truly said that the ultimate spiritual basis of all life is eternal and it reveals itself in variety and change.

A socitey must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life because the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles, when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change, which according to the Quran is one of the greatest "sign" of God, tend to immobilise what is essentially mobile in its nature. The failure of the West in political and spiritual fields illustrates the loss of its grip on eternal values; the weakening of the vigour of Islam during the last many centuries illustrates the effect of immobility.

October 26, 1960 (*Collected Speeches—Vol: III pages* 38 *and* 39)

PAKISTAN—A PRODUCT OF ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH DELIVERED AFTER THE CONFERMENT OF THE HONORARY DEGREE OF PH.D. BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CAIRO

While looking after our material prosperity and progress, we in Pakistan cannot ignore the fact that our country is the product of the ideology of Islam. This is the foremost justification for our existence and we cannot be true to Pakistan without being true to this ideology.

To liberate the spirit of religion from the cobwebs of superstition and stagnation which surround it and move it forward under the focus of modern science and knowledge is therefore one of the major demands on our system of education.

December 9, 1960 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: III pages 52 and 53)*

A NEW ENTERPRISE

FROM INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT THE ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF COLLEGE LAHORE

As you are, no doubt, aware, human society developed from the stage of cave man to the family structure; from family structure to feudalism; from feudalism to capitalism; and from capitalism it has blossomed into diverse material channels like communism, socialism, and the concept of a welfare State. In Pakistan we have not yet reached even the stage of capitalism. We have therefore, to make a big jump and develop into a social welfare State which, in fact, is the inevitable demand of the ideology on the basis of which this country has come into being. The extent to which we can reach this target expeditiously is the real touchstone of all our developmental programmes and administrative reforms.

December 24, 1960 (*Collected Speeches—Vol: III pages* 72 *and* 73)

ROLE OF ULEMA

MESSAGE TO THE NATION

The discipline of the mind and the body presupposes a deep and inner discipline of the soul. It is the cultivation of this spiritual discipline that a great burden of responsibility rests, amongst others, on our Ulema in particular. These men of religious knowledge and learning have for centuries held a total sway on the minds of countless men and women of faith. They have invariably earned the esteem, even adoration, of the bulk of our masses, and if Ulema wish to continue the leadership with which the past has honoured them they have absolutely no option but to recognise the needs and demands of the present and the future.

The mass-man of today is changing fast in every dimension. The speed and tempo of life is becoming more and more dynamic and breathless. The spread of universal education is breaking the crust of ignorance and prejudice. The rapid advance of science and knowledge is storming the citadels of blind faith. The quest for inquiry and interrogation is pressing hard against many an accepted notion and conviction. To keep the men and women of these environments within the four walls of faith is the great challenge of our age. To meet this challenge it is our Ulema who have to rise to the occasion and move forward with the spirit of Islam

which is doubtless the most progressive religion of all times.

Indeed, the strength of Islam lies in its progressive nature, its stress on knowledge and discovery, and its capacity to march even ahead of time. If our Ulema fail to recognise this most vital and essential aspect of our great religion, it appears as though more and more men and women of today and tomorrow will recede farther and farther from the boundaries of faith. This will be the greatest tragedy for both the worlds in which we believe. May God forbid that such a situation ever arise.

The only way to avert this catastrophe is to widen our horizons of knowledge, march in step with the innovation of science and technology, readjust conservatism with modernism and juxtapose the traditions of yesterday with the changing demands of today and tomorrow. The absence of such a progressive attitude can lead to fallacies and absurdities which, when looked upon in retrospect, are nothing more than sheer mockery. After all, it is within our living memory that the use of microphones in congregational prayers was condemned as a downright sacrilege. But now it is an accepted instrument—merely because it is a convenient aid to our multi-dimensional life and has no relation whatsoever with the spirit and principle of faith.

Similarly, today we are witnessing a great deal of confusion and bewilderment on the use of scientific instruments for the sighting of the moon. I have no

doubt that in the days to come this confusion will look as utter foolishness. Please do always remember one thing: religion has come to serve man and science has come to serve both. Failure to recognise this simple truth is no service to man or God.

March 23, 1961 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: III pages* 107 *and* 108)

ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES DIVINE AND ETERNAL

EXTRACTS FROM ENGLISH VERSION OF THE MESSAGE TO THE NATION ON THE OCCASION OF EID-UL-AZHA

Dear countrymen: We are often addicted to claiming with pride that Islam is the only religion which is capable of keeping pace with the times and provides a free incentive to advancement of human society. I venture to say that this claim cannot be proved by words of mouth alone. On the contrary, it is our bounden duty to prove and justify it in actual practice.

There are two essential prerequisites for the fulfilment of this objective. First, we should try to understand and imbibe the principles of Islam with undiluted clarity and comprehension; and secondly, we should endeavour to discover ever new ways and means to act on them in the requirements and environments of our times.

So far as the principles of Islam are concerned, Divine Providence has Himself spelled them out in His Holy Book in unambiguous terms. The difficulty, however, is that while it has become customary to recite and teach the Holy Quran as a matter of grace, hardly any serious effort is made to go into its real meanings and implica-

tions. This is the reason why a wide gulf of disparity yawns between our faith and practice today.

Whether temporal or spiritual, principles are never formulated with a view to become static idols of reverence and adoration. They are in fact intended to be followed and practised. Principles are basic and fundamental and are not open to change and revision. But the ways and means for adherence to those principles must inevitably progress with the evolution of human mind and society. Unless this happens, faith and its practice are bound to stray into divergent paths and thus lose all contact with each other.

There is also another matter to which I wish to draw your pointed attention. Please do remember that no other country or nation is in such dire need of depending on Islam as Pakistan. If, God forbid, other countries of the world choose to stray away from the path of Islam, then, whatever the consequences in the other world, in this world at least they can still afford to exist as nations and communities. The position of Pakistan is entirely different. Our country was founded in the name of Islam and it can subsist only on this name. There is no other basis for our national cohesion and solidarity except Islam. This basis cannot be sustained by vociferous professions of our idealism alone. We must translate our idealism into action for our sheer survival. The greater the harmony between our faith and practice the greater will be the strength of Pakistan. If, on the other hand, there is disparity between our professions

and actions, there is great danger that the very foundations of Pakistan will grow hollow and disintegrate.

So, therefore, if not for any spiritual or moral motives then at least for the purely worldly considerations of our national survival, we have no option but to stick truly and strongly to our gracious faith.

By far the simplest and the easiest way to do so is to study the Book of God carefully, ponder over its meanings deeply, and in the light of our past traditions and current experiences discover ways and means for living up to it in the volcanic world of today.

Dear countrymen: I appeal to you most earnestly to pool all your resources of head and heart to fulfil this urgent dictate of destiny. For this purpose I humbly request that whenever in any public or private functions and ceremonies any passages from the Holy Quran are recited, they should invariably be translated in the language of the audience, followed by a clear and lucid interpretation of the mode of their application to the life and conditions of today. It is not a matter of personal or individual enterprise alone. As a matter of fact, it should be launched as a well organised movement so that we might obey the oft-repeated direction of God to ponder over the meaning of His Book and thus come out of darkness into light. Representative institutions like the various tiers of Basic Democracies, Corporations, Municipal Committees etc., can play a valuable part in this mission. I appeal to them to launch this campaign on a wide scale so that the teaching of the Quran, the

comprehension of its meaning and the application of its lessons become a regular and natural feature, not only of every school, college or university, but also of every village, town and city.

This is no less than a 'Jehad' against the forces of ignorance and darkness, and it is the duty of every man and woman of faith to participate in it like a dedicated soldier. I would particularly appeal to the intelligentsia of our country to pay their special attention to it so that the degenerate fashion of sneering at religion is replaced by a positive and wholesome attitude of understanding and respecting it. It is only thus that they can hope to play any role of leadership in preserving our political independence and promoting our ideological intergrity. Unless we rise to the occasion and make an honest search to rediscover 'Sirat-ul-Mustaqim', the straight path ordained by God, I am afraid our spiritual moral, material and national existence will be seriously imperilled.

May 26, 1961 *(Collected Speeches—Vol: III Pages* 133 *to* 135)

IDEOLOGICAL INTEGRATION

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH AT THE PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS KARACHI

As far as the ideological integration is concerned, that really means making the Islamic way of life pattern of the people of Pakistan. It was on that basis that Pakistan came into being, and it is on that basis alone that it can survive and progress and become stronger. It is easy to say that, but to translate that into action is an extraordinarily difficult thing. However, giving Islamic bent to our life is a continuous process; it is a life-long process. It is not something which can be ordered by decree; it is something that has to be watched day and night, and it is something for which we have to have an organisation that keeps on reminding us of it. I hope that our Constitution will take care of it. All I can say is this that a very honest attempt will be made to give this very difficult idea a practical shape. And if anyone later on produces a better one, any government of Pakistan with any common sense should, I think, keep its mind open to accept a better idea.

Outwardly, because of this ideological base of this country, we naturally have greater affinity and attachment with the Muslim world.

There is a tremendous upsurge in the whole world —the world that was not free in Asia and Africa— and there is also a tremendous upsurge in the Muslim countries.

But let us be quite clear that the upsurge in other Muslim countries by and large is racial, is linguistic, is territorial, is anti-imperialist, anti-colonial; it is very little religious. I should therefore think that when we expect other Muslim countries to agree entirely with us in principle we find that we are disappointed. I believe it is our fault in not judging or reading the situation correctly.

We are also misunderstood at times when our point of view is not accepted because the new Muslim countries have their own problems. They have their problems with the colonial powers and they have their problems mutually. In the resolution of both, Pakistan cannot exert a decisive influence. We are not in a position to exert a decisive influence. Their demands and requests at times are racial, but when there is an upsurge of that type and when nationalism in its extreme form takes charge, human reasoning gets second place. Human mind disconnects from the heart and the heart takes charge, and in those circumstances it is not easy to give advice to or caution people.

They do not understand our point of view sometimes because their quarrel perhaps is amongst themselves or is with their previous colonial powers. We have no quarrel with our previous colonial power; we have no

quarrel with the British; they are our friends. We have quarrel with our next door Asian power, and that is the fundamental difference in our outlook. When they talk about Afro-Asian solidarity, Afro-Asian stand and so on and so forth, and we differ with them sometimes they do not quite understand why we take that attitude because they are not under the same pressure as we are.

There is also an element of jealousy towards us. I suppose initially when Pakistan came into being a lot of people started bragging about Pakistan being the biggest Muslim country. There is nowadays the bug of leadership on the minds of the people. We are an enormous country and we have enormous problems and any talk about leading others is sheer nonsense. If you want to lead others, the best way is to serve them. At times, when we find that other Muslim countries do not see things as we do, we ought to realize that their circumstances are different from ours. Only when the masses in Muslim countries are sufficiently advanced educationally can ideas of universal brotherhood, the brotherhood of Islam, strike root. Until such time as that phenomenon occurs, it will be very foolish on the part of Pakistanis not to judge this correctly and expect too much from the situation.

As far as we are concerned, we have on every occasion given fullest moral, and whatever other support we could give, to our Muslim brethren. We generally wish them well; we generally wish they get stronger; we generally wish that their mutual problems are resolved.

But one thing must be quite clear to Pakistanis: it is that we cannot go beyond that; any attempt to take sides will be fatal and will be futile. We must not get involved in their internal problems.

Today we are willing to assess their moral and, to a great extent, their rightful causes and keep away severely from their internal problems. In pursuance of that policy, we have made amongst the Muslim countries good friends. There are some who are closest allies. There are countries like the Arab countries with whom we have very cordial relations and, I think, that process should continue.

Now, as regards the territorial security of Pakistan, first of all there is the problem of security in the context of world conflict. I shall talk about it separately. We have our security problems with India ever since partition. India's foreign policy and its policy towards Pakistan has been offensive and non-cooperative.

August 25, 1961 *(Collected Speeches Vol: IV pages* 81 *to* 83)

OUR OBJECTIVE

EXTRACTS FROM PAKISTAN DAY BROADCAST

Being an ideological State, our first objective must be to adhere unflinchingly to our ideology—the ideology of Islam. It is for this that we demanded and obtained Pakistan. It is the source of our strength and cohesion. We must do all we can to promote it so as to attain unity, equality, brotherhood, and social and economic justice. In doing so, we shall be performing another important duty too. In this world of growing scepticism, penetrating inquiry and exacting reason, we shall be proving that Islam is timeless; that it is dynamic and can move with the times; that it is a practical code of life here and an effective passport for the life hereafter. This is a great challenge to our generation. I believe we can meet it provided we approach the problem objectively, scientifically and with an open mind.

Whilst promoting our own ideology, we must not be unmindful of our obligation to the protection, progress and welfare of the minorities in our midst. The Constitution fully ensures their rights and we must honour those rights in letter as well as in spirit.

March 23, 1962 — *(Collected Speeches— Vol: IV pages* 187 *and* 188)

THE MIDDLE PATH

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONFERMENT OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS HONORIS CAUSA BY THE UNIVERSITY OF KARACHI

One thing which I think is worth mentioning and that is that when you read the Holy Quran it tells you that Muslims are the people of the middle path. Now for a long time it never dawned on me that to be the people of the middle path did not mean that you should be completely colourless, devoid of ideas, and devoid of imagination. Should you be cattle to remain in the middle path? But after a stage I came to this realisation that to belong to the middle path requires the highest form of self-control, the highest form of civilisation and culture.

It really means controlling your uncontrollable emotions with your thinking power and decency and keeping yourself away from temptations and sticking to the right path. It requires vision; it requires imagination; it requires a spirit of give and take; it requires a spirit of comradeship, brotherhood and equality. So let us set an example for everyone of us in trying to be the people of the middle path. And I think if you remember that and observe that we cannot go wrong very far.

May 9, 1962 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: IV page 230)*

BRING LIFE CLOSER TO ISLAM

EID-UL-AZHA MESSAGE TO THE NATION

Eid-ul-Azha is an annual reminder of one of the most cardinal principles of Islam; the spirit of sacrifice.

So long as the injunction of "sacrifice above self" was followed by Muslims in its true sense, they exercised undisputed mastery over the worldly as well as unwordly realms of life. But decay started when the ritual remained and the Ibrahimi spirit behind it got lost in mere dogma. This is what happened to many other golden principles of Islam as well.

Our mission today is to try and separate the dogma from the spirit so that the former can be used as a term of reference and the latter as code of life. This is the only way to bring life closer to religion in the fast moving and fast changing world of today. Without carrying out this exercise we cannot be true to 'Deen-e-Fitrat', that is Islam.

It is in recognition of this necessity that we have made the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology an integral part of our constitutional framework. With the Institute

of Islamic Research as a feeding base, this body should be able to give us guidance which we need not only as a nation but also as a part of broad Muslim Millat.

May 15, 1962

(Collected Speeches—Vol: IV page 234)

THE TRACING OF ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE LAYING CEREMONY OF JAMIA TALEEMAAT-I-ISLAMIA

KARACHI

Maulana Abdul Hamid! I have listened with great pleasure to your learned discourse. You have stated that in modern times those educated on Western lines want to solve religious questions by reason and ratiocination and not by mere faith. In the history of every religion there comes a time when its educated sections apply the cold test of reason to the solution of religious problems. You have yourself pointed out that in the history of Islam itself savants like Allama Razi and Allama Ghazali and others saved men of rational way of thinking from going astray by bringing them round to their views.

The question, however, arises that if religious divines of yore could persuade the rationalists of their times and if in accordance with divine injunctions they could successfully probe into the mysteries of heaven and earth, why it is not possible today.

I feel that during the early period of Islam the rationalists and the religious divines were not so wide apart as they are today.

Science has made tremendous progress—man has not only orbited the earth but is reaching for the moon. On the other hand religious thought has lost its original dynamism and is bogged down in the quagmire of stagnation. Actually there is no conflict between science and religion.

The only way out of this crisis, to my mind, is that our highly educated sections as well as our Ulema should, in their own way, try to find out the ultimate objective which has been lost in the welter of confused thought and both should try to understand each other's point of view and that of the scientists, and in a spirit of sympathy and understanding draw closer together and then forge ahead. This, in fact, is the purpose of the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology of which you are a member. May God help you in achieving this noble object.

Our country has still much leeway to make up. There is the greatest need to fall in step with scientific progress and to meet the requirements of the times. It is therefore essential that we should strike a balance between the teachings of the Quran and the Sunnah and modern science so that as we progress in the field of science we will not lose contact with our precious religious heritage.

There are not many institutions devoted to research in the field of religion and other sciences. It was therefore

a matter of pleasure for me to know that this institution of which I have the honour to lay the foundation-stone has undertaken to accomplish this great task. May the institution progress in accordance with these Islamic traditions.

I pray to God that those who have set themselves this virtuous task may achieve their goal not only for Pakistan but for all mankind.

September 3, 1962 *(Collected Speeches—Vol: V pages 25 and 26)*

DUTY AND SACRIFICE

MESSAGE TO THE NATION ON THE OCCASION OF EID-UL-AZHA

In Islam, the two days of rejoicing—Eid-ul-Fitr and Eid-ul-Azha—mark the occasion of a duty fulfilled or a sacrifice made. The lesson intended for us is that true happiness lies in doing our duty and in making sacrifice for noble ideals. Human sacrifice today means that we should be prepared to sacrifice our dearest possessions for the achievement of higher objectives. Our nation and country are confronted with many a problem today. Occasions also arise in our private life when personal and national interests clash. If on such occasions we place the interest of the nation and the country above our own we will be following in the footsteps of the venerable men of history and will be blessed both in this world and the next.

May 4, 1963 *Collected Speeches— Vol: V page* 140)

BASIC PROBLEMS

A SUMMARY OF THE REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME PRESENTED BY THE DIRECTOR OF ISLAMIC ACADEMY DACCA AT A RECEPTION IN THE ACADEMY PREMISES

There is a universal demand in Pakistan that our State should be Islamic State. They say it should run on Islamic values, while still moving with the times. There was another thing which was worrying my mind and that was that the gulf between the educated intelligentsia and the masses will grow as it is growing today. Whenever this gulf grows, a dangerous situation arises and an imbalance takes place in the structure of society. Where such a situation exists, you cannot have stability. The third thing that tormented my mind was the fact that how was it that Islam which, when it came, was regarded as most revolutionary gospel that was produced for mankind and its guidance flourished for two or three hundred years, and thereafter it stagnated and it stagnated to such an extent that the Muslims today, from amongst those who are cultured and civilised people, are the most backward communities in the world. What is it that went wrong? Something must have gone wrong.

These were the things that, as I said before, were tormenting my mind. First of all, how we can give our lives an Islamic bent and at the same time move with the times because if you fail in that effort you will be left behind and will be isolated. The other was how to bridge the gap between the educated and the uneducated masses. Thirdly, what was it that has gone wrong that has left the Islamic communities as the backward communities. These are the things, as I said, that kept on tormenting my mind and I asked myself what is it that I can do as a human being, as an ordinary human being, to assist my people to resolve these problems. One thing which, I think, after a little reflection comes quite clearly to one's mind is that somehow or the other we missed that spirit of our philosophy. It had gone past us somehow or the other. We did not get hold of its real kernel, otherwise we would not have been in the state in which we are. The point was that what is that, be that as it may, the point was that what is that we are to do now in order to catch that spirit again. By catching that spirit I mean that we should be spiritual beings and at the same time be able to move with this world of science and technology. When I came to this conclusion the answer did not lie in producing decrees and laws or laying down any code by a single individual. But the answer lay in stimulating thought processes of our people. To find an answer to this dilemma in which we are is the task of the community as a whole. To find an answer, to find a solution to these problems, to assist them, what I could do and did do, was to make religious instruction compulsory up to a certain standard, to eighth standard; thereafter provide facilities for higher studies of religion for those

interested in it. Above all, I felt that it was necessary to have a band of learned people of different shades of opinion who are interested in religious affairs to get together in a statutory manner so that the community is reminded of their existence and they are duty-bound to give fresh thought to problems, identify the basis of our philosophy and advise us how best in the present circumstances that philosophy could be applied. And that was the basis on which the Islamic Guidance Body was set up. I think that experiment is a unique experiment in the history of any Muslim country. In it we have traditional Ulema, thinkers, religious thinkers, philosophers, and jurists. They will have the right to call such experts, say in economic spheres or any other spheres, to seek their advice and all that backed up with the Islamic Research Centres' own findings. And recommendations should go before the Legislature who are the representatives of the community and they should really accept and what is that they will not accept. After all what you accept, what you follow, is dependent on your horizon, depth of your thought, your vision, your strength of character, and so many things—a perfectly sound truth.

The community may not be yet ready to accept and follow. Therefore any enforcement by force would not have been correct. So, that I felt was the real way of serving the people, to understand the philosophy of their religion and then applying it to worldly affairs. Have a free hand and a free discussion and with their eyes open decide which course they are to take in order to resolve certain problems that confront them. Now the

base for this body is the Islamic Research Centre and its subordinate bodies, the Islamic Academy at Dacca and another body at Lahore. We hope that through this method we can get hold of researchers who will apply their minds originally to find out the real kernel of the philosophy—how was it practised, how was it envisaged, what was its depth, what sort of flexibility it had in its application to mould life. That sort of process has already started, although in a humble way, and a certain amount of literature has been produced. The object of it all really is that we want to ensure that our educated community do not run away from religion and there is no need to run away from it. Once you begin to understand it you will begin to like it.

One hears a lot about Islam having been spread by force and so on and so forth. But I believe that this religion was spread through the example of what a good Muslim should be and that attracted people towards them. Take the example of your own part of the world, East Pakistan. Just imagine how difficult had been the communication situation at the time when Islam came to this part. How difficult it must have been to travel from one place to another. And yet people came, established themselves in places like Sylhet and others and millions of people accepted their gospel. One often wonders how it is that people got attracted to this philosophy. It is the basic attraction of the equality and brotherhood which is the real reason for a great mass of humanity to be attracted towards Islam and you can see that phenomenon occurring in Africa today. Ten years ago, nobody could have believed the pace at which

the African countries are getting free today. There are very few people who are not free. They have found their freedom. What they have not found is the equality with the other races that ruled them and you will be surprised to know that, inspite of the fact that Muslim missionaries go there with very limited recourses, it is Islam that is attracting those people towards Islam. The basis of that attraction is that whereas they have found freedom they are in search of and are thirsty for a recognition of the equality and being regarded on the common level with the rest of the humanity, irrespective of the colour, location and so on. The basic attration of Islam is that it is colour-blind and it is race-blind and on that basis the commonness of the brotherhood of mankind has been established. So, therefore, when talking about Islamic Constitution and talking about spread of religion and its philosophy, when talking about bridging the gap between the masses and the educated, what you come to is this that we got to have a faith with inquiry and faith with reason. This is important. If you allow your people the right of thinking, the right of search, they will realise the intrinsic value contained in the Book of God. I have no doubt in my mind that the truth need never fear inquiry and analysis and research in it; if it is the truth then it will come out more chiselled, more brightened and carry far more conviction and go deeper in human mind.

We have our basic needs and requirements as worldly human beings. But at the same time we also want to live a moral and spiritual life. Even in our bitter struggle, we ought to remember and be guided by these

moral values. We should start inculcating those from the very childhood among our future generation. At the same time we must give our people the right of inquiry and thinking based on truth , truth in true facts of life and intrinsic values. I think once you start that, you have made a good beginning.

May 8, 1963 *(Collected Speeches Vol: V pages* 141*t o* 144)

RELIGION OF PROGRESS

ENGLISH RENDERING OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED IN URDU AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF JAMIA ISLAMIA AT BAHAWALPUR

Pakistan was established on the basis of religion. We demanded Pakistan for the preservation of our religion and culture, and Allah, in His bounty, granted us the boon of Pakistan.

Our people are perhaps the most religious-minded in the Muslim world. But modern education and enlightenment are spreading day by day. In the last century, our so-called religious scholars thought that safety for Islam lay in depriving the Muslims of the knowledge of English and the new sciences. If, however, Islam is the true religion of Allah and its principles are correct and everlasting, then Islam does not stand in danger from modern education or new ideas. It is the coward and the liar who is afraid. The truth, or those who are on the side of the truth, should not be afraid of the advent of new sciences or new ideas.

It is not the correct way to combat new sciences and new ideas by confining ourselves within the limitations of our knowledge and keeping away from all outside

influences. The correct way is that we should study the new sciences and new ideas. Our religion ordains that we accept a good thing, wherever it may be found, and whatever is wrong we must counter it and prove that it is wrong.

There is nothing in the Quran and the Sunna which stands in danger from the new sciences or the new ideas. But if some religious scholar (like the religious scholars of our time) gave some ruling or 'fatwa' some centuries back which, in the changed circumstances of today, does not appear to be correct to us now, then we should not be afraid of following the path which appears to be right today. The Quran repeatedly appeals that we should make use of our own reason and intellect. The Holy Prophet himself opened the gateway of 'ijtihad.'

If we act narrow-mindedly and follow the beaten track, then future generations will stray away from Islam in the same manner as the Western nations have gone astray from their religions. I even see signs that this process has already started.

Therefore it is the moral, national and even religious duty of our religious scholars that they should prove the everlasting and true principles of Islam as such by applying them to the needs and requirements of the present day. The only result of uncompromising adherence to trivialities or outmoded ideas which do not hold good now due to the change in the times would be that future generations would become irreligious and Godless.

Islam is a religion of progress. We all know what phenomenal progress the companions of the Prophet made simply by acting on the principles of Islam. Coming of a violent and uncivilised society, they not only became the most civilised people of the time but also came to be known as experts in arts, literature and science and as leaders of thought. Why is it then that the followers of the same Islam are backward and unprogressive today? Obviously, we are not following in the footsteps of the companions of the Prophet. We have abandoned the fundamentals of Islam and consider minor points of Islamic jurisprudence as Islam. It is therefore imperative that the true spirit of Islam should once again be inculcated in the nation and it should not be ignored and replaced by rituals.

October 9, 1963 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: VI pages* 42 *and* 43)

EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION

FIRST-OF-THE-MONTH BROADCAST

Our emotional integration is due to various causes, the chief one being the hold which our religion has on us. Islam, while appealing to reason, moves the Muslims emotionally more than anything else. Let this abiding force be harnessed to keep us together. It was for this reason that the educational reforms recently introduced provided for compulsory religious education.

It was to preserve our religious and cultural heritage that we fought for the achievement of Pakistan. And this common struggle, waged by people of both the Wings, is a factor which, despite the distance, forged a strong emotional link between us.

December 1, 1963 (*Collected Speeches— Vol: VI page* 78)

FOR THE WHOLE OF MANKIND

MESSAGE TO THE AFRICAN ASIAN CONFERENCE HELD IN INDONESIA

Ours is the only religion which claims to have come for the whole of mankind. Its principles are universal. Its truths are eternal. But the circumstances of each people and each age differ. That is why our religion has laid down certain immutable principles and has left their interpretation and application to be determined by the process of reasoning so long as the reasoning does not go contrary to the basic concepts of Islam. It was because of this freedom to interpret and apply that our great jurists applied their own minds and judgment to produce voluminous literature on Islamic jurisprudence. Similarly, in other matters, the door of 'ijtihad' has always been open.

The followers of certain other religions gave up their faith when it could not be reconciled with the changing times and conditions. Let not that happen to the Muslim world. If other religions could not meet the challenge of the present day, Islam certainly can because it is the final and complete religion meant for all peoples and all times. What is required is that its immutable principles should be interpreted and applied in the light of the present day conditions.

There is already an awakening in this respect in certain quarters. But there is need to adjust ourselves quickly before irreligion overcomes our youth. Let us give our children not only the latest scientific and technological education but also the most up-to-date religious and moral teachings enshrined in Islam.

March 5, 1965

(Collected Speeches— Vol: VII pages 155 and 156)

CREATION OF PAKISTAN

ADDRESS AT THE CONCLUDING SESSION OF THE ANJUMAN-I-HIMAYAT-I-ISLAM LAHORE

The creation of Pakistan is based on the ideology of Islam and Muslim nationalism. And for this reason, we stand for universal peace and maintenance of friendly relations with our neighbours. It has always been the policy of my Government to strengthen friendly relations with all countries of the world, particularly our neighbours. But it is a matter of deep regret that our relations with India continue to be strained despite our best efforts to see them improve. This is because India wants to solve the outstanding issues with us by resorting to force and aggression instead of settling them on the basis of justice and fairplay. Pakistan is always willing and prepared to resolve them through peaceful means, but not at the cost of its national honour and inalienable rights.

I would like to reiterate that Pakistan needs peace to better the lot of its people. We want peace. But if war is forced on us, every Pakistani is ready to make the highest sacrifice for the defence of the country.

May 30, 1965 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: VII page 209)*

RESURGENCE OF FAITH

THE REVOLUTION DAY MESSAGE TO THE NATION

Recent events have led to a remarkable resurgence of faith and revived among the people of Pakistan the Islamic spirit of sacrifice and discipline. Let us keep this spirit alive and go on with the task of reconstruction, mindful to the dangers that now face us—dangers that threaten our very existence and way of life—in the sure belief that right will ultimately triumph.

October 27, 1965 (*Collected Speeches—Vol: VIII page* 66)

OUR FAITH

FROM FIRST-OF-THE-MONTH BROADCAST TO THE NATION

My dear countrymen: With faith in God, we were able to silence the enemy guns that dared to open fire on our homeland. The flame of national fervour and dedication now burns in every home in Pakistan lighting the path along which the people of Pakistan are prepared to march as one man when duty calls.

God in His infinite mercy granted us the unity and determination to fight the aggressor. This unity and determination must become an essential part of our daily lives. The struggle ahead of us is going to be a long one, but you are blessed with a Faith which provides you with all that you need to sustain you in that struggle. May God bless you!

November 1, 1965 — (*Collected Speeches— Vol: VIII page* 71)

NATIONAL UNITY

FIRST-OF-THE-MONTH BROADCAST TO THE NATION

In fact the link joining the two parts of the country is found in the noble person of our Prophet. As long as this link exists, the nation shall, Insha-Allah, remain united. Those inclined to over-emphasise the geographical distance between East and West Pakistan do not understand the significance and the importance of this great link which goes beyond all considerations of geography, politics, caste and colour.

We should bear in mind that all of us have certain obligations for the preservation of national unity. We should be vigilant against the mischievous activities of those determined to create dissensions among the people. Instead of being influenced by the empty slogans raised by the self-seeking people, we should try to identify and understand national and environmental realities.

Having passed through many critical stages during the last 19 years, we have reached a point from where we can have a glimpse of our bright and glorious future. God willing, we will move forward on the road to progress and prosperity.

August 1, 1966 (*Official handout*)

ISLAMIC SPIRIT OF INQUIRY

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

The world is making astounding progress. The scientists have discovered new worlds beyond the stars. Recently, I had an occasion of visiting the Jodrell Bank Observatory in England. The incharge of the Observatory, Sir Bernard Lovell, showed me two graphs. The first showed a map of those electric currents which had left their galaxy some 750 crore Light Years ago. The second graph which he presented to me as a gift showed those currents which had left their galaxy 560 crore Light Years ago. I asked Professor Lovell what was the object of these scientific researches. He said that they wanted to find the origin of the Universe. Man has now reached a stage when he has gone beyond this terrestrial sphere in the search of truth and reality. We have also to attain that stage of progress and even to go beyond it. But this is possible only when every individual is imbued with the spirit of hard work and self-sacrifice and pursues research in keeping with the Islamic spirit of inquiry.

December 1, 1966 *(Official handout)*

SPIRIT OF THE TIME

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

Iqbal spelled out the future course of action for the Muslims of the sub-continent and taught them how to keep in step with the times and move forward in the changing world. To my mind the central theme of his poetry and thought is that the Muslim people should understand the spirit of the times and seek progress and prosperity through the living and everlasting principles of their faith and religion. This is the only means by which Muslims can succeed not only in this world but also in the hereafter. The lovers of Iqbal should therefore popularise this central idea of Iqbal's poetry and thought among the people.

This is no time for idle talk, but for positive action. And actions can be fruitful only when people are aware of the prevailing conditions and are able to identify the path that will lead them to their cherished goal. Unfortunately, our people suffer from a peculiar kind of mental confusion. They are quite clear that they have to follow the path of Islam but they are not conscious of the fact that it is also their duty to discover that path. All of us know that we have to lead our lives in accordance with the basic tenets of Islam but very few of us realise that it

is our duty to understand its principles and to apply them in the context of modern times.

Allama Iqbal has said a number of important things about the collective life of Muslims which can help us dispel our present mental confusion to a great extent. I am sure the lovers of Iqbal will be doing a great service to the nation by popularising these ideas among the people.

May 1, 1967

(*Official handout*)

STUDY OWN HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY

PRESIDENT'S CALL TO EDUCATIONISTS

President Ayub said that the study of our own history, culture and ideology, besides scientific and technical education, was essential for the development of national character and an ideal society.

He asked the committee to hold seminars for discussion of various problems relating to the individual and social life of the people of Pakistan so that an idea of the right direction of national life could be obtained.

The President said that the people of this country seemed too much wedded to the ideas of other peoples and attracted by the pattern of political systems existing in other countries.

He said, "We should now know our own history, culture and ideology more thoroughly and try to develop a new political system according to the requirements of time and circumstances. There is no harm in deviating from the old system if the deviation was in the interest of the nation."

The President also emphasised the need for producing more books on the ideology of Islam and the movement of Pakistan, particularly for the younger generation.

December 16, 1967 *(Source: Newspaper Report "The Pakistan Times" Rawalpindi)*

UNITY ON BASIS OF ISLAM

PRESIDENT'S ADVICE TO OFFICERS AT DACCA

President Mohammad Ayub Khan said that the main aims of his administration were to unify the nation on the basis of the enlightened principles of Islam, give the nation a sense of purpose in life, and set it to the task of reconstruction and development to enable it to enter the present age of science and technology as fast as possible.

He called upon the officials to dedicate themselves to the attainment of the national objectives. He exhorted them to be generous, large-hearted, imaginative and hard working without indulging in parochialism, provincialism, and regionalism. He also underlined the need for reorientation of their outlook with the changing pattern of life.

Analysing the factors which had caused depressing conditions in the country before 1958, the President said that he had offered solutions conducive to the promotion of people's interests with sincerity of purpose and spirit of dedication. He said that he could offer solutions, but the implementation depended on the people.

He observed that the measures of development undertaken during the last nine years had served the country

well and if this rate of progress could be maintained for next 15 to 20 years the face of the country would change enormously. It was in everybody's interest to see that this process was sustained. He, however, reminded the audience that the process could be sustained only if political and economic stability was maintained.

December 17, 1967 *(Source: Newspaper Report "The Pakistan Times" Rawalpindi)*

TRUE ISLAMIC SOCIETY

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT EID CONGREGATION

President Ayub has called upon the people to work devotedly for the unity, cohesion, progress and political stability of the country. He has also urged them to pledge themselves for the creation of a true Islamic society in Pakistan. He was addressing the Eid congregation after the prayers in Rawalpindi.

President Ayub said that for making the country a truly welfare State "we should adhere to the philosophy of fasting". He said that the one month of self-abstinence was meant to inculcate qualities of discipline, purification of thought and action, and subordinating personal comforts to the greater well-being of the nation.

This was why fasting during the month of Ramazan had been made obligatory for Muslims all over the world. "It did not, however, mean that we should not cultivate self-discipline and spirit of sacrifice after the month of Ramazan is over, " he pointed out.

Emphasising the importance of adopting the Islamic way of life, the President said that true Muslims were

those who followed the middle path, listened to the dictates of reason, and avoided evil and wicked deeds.

The basic philosophy of Islam boiled down to faith in one God, equality and brotherhood, avoidance of evil, large-heartedness, patience, mutual cooperation, and understanding. "It should be our constant endeavour to keep this in mind," he said.

January 3, 1968 *(Source : Newspaper Report "The Pakistan Times" Rawalpindi)*

THE GREAT CHALLENGES

EID-UL-FITR MESSAGE

I extend my heartiest felicitations to my countrymen and Muslims all over the world on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr. Coming as it does in the wake of the month of Ramazan, Eid-ul-Fitr has a significance all its own for Muslims every year. It serves to emphasise the importance of the spirit of sacrifice and self-restraint in individual and collective life.

Muslims as a society face great challenges today. God has also afforded them immense opportunities. Our existence as representatives of a faith depends on how we adjust ourselves to the world of science and technology without losing our hold on the basic principles of our faith. This requires an immediate orientation of our attitudes so that we may be able to respond to new compulsions and demands. Occasions like the Eid-ul-Fitr help us to share our thoughts with our brethren in deliberating over these problems.

Eid-ul-Fitr also provides an opportunity for all sections of our society to identify themselves with national ideas and aspirations. Our goals are clear. We want to build Pakistan into a unified and progressive society.

We are grateful to God Almighty Who in His infinite mercy has blessed our efforts in this direction during the last 10 years.

A great deal remains to be done by keeping our objective constantly before us, and by persistent hard work we will, Insha Allah, continue to forge ahead. Let us on this day rededicate ourselves to the fulfilment of our mission.

January 2, 1968

(Source: Newspaper Report "The Pakistan Times" Rawalpindi)

GREATEST HUMAN CIVILIZATION

MESSAGE TO THE NATION ON THE OCCASION OF EID-I-MILLAD-UN-NABI

Even an elementary knowledge of human history would reveal that Allah, in his boundless compassion, sent the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) in one of the darkest hours of mankind in one of the darkest regions of the world. Not only did the Prophet convey the words of Allah to humanity, but he also, in the span of his own lifetime, demonstrated how human societies could be organised on the principles of Islam.

Out of the torn and warring tribes of Arabia, he created a people who, inspired with the word of Allah, laid the foundations of the greatest human civilisation.

By freeing man of ignorance and superstition, the Prophet initiated an unprecedented renaissance of knowledge and inquiry, and, by his firm insistence on the indivisible unity of thought and action, he enabled man to aspire to the highest ideals of nobility, service, brotherhood and, above all, social justice.

At the present stage of our social and economic development, we are faced with numerous problems of

transition. Today, we need to study the life and teachings of the Holy Prophet more than ever before and do all that is possible to approximate the ideal of the perfect man epitomised by him.

A continuous study of the life of the Prophet is the shortest and the surest way to understand and identify our problems, and on this auspicious day, I urge all men and women of faith to rededicate themselves to the mission of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). He had urged us to realise his teachings in concrete social terms.

Let us, above all, not lose sight of this aspect of his message to us.

May Allah help us in our efforts. Ameen.

June 9, 1968

(Source : Newspaper Report "The Pakistan Times" Rawalpindi)

Part Two

LAWYERS' ROLE

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT THE PAKISTAN LAWYERS CONVENTION HELD IN KARACHI

Lawyers have a vital role in the affairs of the nation. I have no doubt that this Association will enable you to make a correct assessment of the nature and extent of that role and will assist you in playing it effectively in the interest of your nation.

You have said many kind things about me and have expressed appreciation of many of the steps taken by my Government. I thank you for your welcome and appreciation. You have also raised some important points. May I say a few words about each?

You have said that an unjustified prejudice exists against lawyers in certain quarters. I can assure you, those quarters do not include me. I have never doubted the patriotism of lawyers. What I have doubted, however, is the correctness of the assumption that, by his special training, the lawyer is more suitable for statesmanship than others. Please do not misunderstand me. I do not say that; so far as I can see, there is very little in the special training of a lawyer that makes him particularly suitable for this role. I have found this out from

practical experience of the last two years. The statesman has to find a practical solution that will work in the present and the future. The past is important to him only as a guide to the future. The lawyer is trained mainly to take part in a process which, factually, exhausts itself with the ascertainment of past events from which rights and liabilities flow. The statesman is concerned, above all, with the expected consequences and repercussions of the steps he proposes to take. The lawyer is trained to apply the law to the ascertained facts without considering the consequences and repercussions of doing so. As an advocate, the lawyer's function is to find reasons for justifying the case of the party that happens to have engaged him. As a judge, his task is to weigh the case of both sides and pronounce judgement. So long as he has done so, he is called upon to consider nothing else. The statesman, on the other hand, has to find practical ways and means to effect improvement, consolidate gains, cut losses and prevent deteriorations. Might I add that one way of judging a country's state of progress is to see whether it is ruled by lawyers or technicians and representatives of scientific professions. Nowadays mere knowledge of law is not enough to fit a man to leadership. He needs much more varied knowledge and experience apart from having a spirit of dedication and strong character. I hope those who wish to take part in the politics of the country in future will remember this.

The prejudice of which you have spoken, if I may be pardoned for saying so, exists in certain quarters on account of the manner in which some lawyers

have thought fit to discharge their functions as advocates of the case of a party. Instead of confining themselves to finding reasons in support of their case, some lawyers have conceived their function to consist in finding ways and means, whether lawful or unlawful, including the giving of assistance in the fabrication of false evidence, to support the case of their client. I have no doubt that your Association will be able successfuly to combat this tendency and with its eradication, I feel certain, the cause of the prejudice of which you have spoken will disappear. I have, however, one suggestion to offer. Looking at it from a layman's point of view, the legal profession in our country appears to be over-staffed. This, apart from locking useful manpower unnecessarily, creates cut-throat competition in the profession ushering in all sorts of abuses. The way to deal with this problem is the same as some other countries have done which is to ensure that only such persons come into the professsion as can be usefully absorbed, and, secondly, the profession has built-in arrangements or organisation to deal effectively with those who do not conform to its ethical standards.

I entirely agree that a definition of the limits of executive authority is essential. I also agree that the judiciary should have the ultimate power of deciding whether the limits of executive authority have or have not been exceeded. But I do not agree that those limits should be unduly rigid or that within those limits there should be a possiblity for the judiciary to interfere with the acts of the executive. It has sometimes been assumed that the executive officers are there to put a restraint

upon them. Such an assumption gives rise to an attitude of hostility and conflict between the two, which is not healthy. Any Government worth its name should be in a position to control its executive officers and rectify their errors. Judicial processes usually take long and hold up for the sake of individual interests for which steps frequently need be taken speedily in the larger interests of the country as a whole. I do not think that there has been any greater tendency towards bestowing finality on acts of executive functionaries than in the past. Except, perhaps, in one or two instances, where the national need was assessed to be very pressing, the determination whether an act is within or outside the prescribed limits has been left to the courts in the recent legislation in this country.

You have said that the freedom of speech, the dignity of person and the respect for property should be restored. This presupposes that all these existed in the past but have been taken away now. I doubt if either premises is correct. I wonder how much dignity of person existed in the past. I feel confident that it does not exist to a lesser extent today. With reference to the respect for other people's property, I do not think that it is any less than it was before. Looking at the crime figures, I get the contrary impression. If by respect for property you mean that some of the laws that have been made by my Government deprive owners of vested rights in certain circumstances, I would request you to examine the objects of these legislations. In the national interest, owners of certain kinds of property have been deprived of their vested rights, but always as against compensation

or the payment of price which has been sought to be made as equitable as possible. As regards freedom of speech, it is true that criticism of Martial Law is forbidden. Freedom of speech, however, is a necessary instrument for a specific purpose. It must be judged in the context of that purpose. Freedom of speech has never meant an unlimited licence to say whatever one likes. For example, one may not injure the reputation of another except in certain specified situations. Otherwise the law of defamation would be attracted. The freedom to criticise the acts of Government is necessary for two purposes. It is necessary, in the first place, to keep the Government perpetually informed as to the reactions to, and repercussions of, its policies so as to enable it to make necessary adjustments or modifications. It is necessary, in the second place, to pass judgement on the competence of an existing Government so as to bring about a change of Government if necessary. The second purpose can be achieved only if a constitutional arrangement is in existence through which an orderly change of Government can take place. If there is none, the second purpose can only be achieved through a disorderly change which results in a disturbance of law and order. The second purpose therefore is incompatible with a state of affairs in which replacement machinery is yet to be devised. Moreover, for freedom of speech for the purposes of criticism of Government, it is necessary to have the capacity to distinguish between responsible freedom and irresponsible licence.

For the first purpose, freedom of speech and expression exists today to the same extent to which it did in the past.

For the second purpose, it does not exist today but will be restored as soon as the new Constitution is ushered in. I hope, however, that till such time as the wisdom to distinguish between freedom and licence does not become a part of the character of the majority of our people, some provision on the lines of the already existing limitations will be introduced in the law to regulate the freedom of speech. I do not think that, in the fast moving world of today, we can afford the luxury of indulging in suicidal activities by bringing about instability in Government for the sake of satisfying some requirements of foreign theoreticians applicable to their own conditions.

September 10, 1960

(Collected Speeches—
Vol: III pages 25 to 30)

MERE CONFORMISM

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH DELIVERED AFTER THE CONFERMENT OF THE HONORARY DEGREE OF PH.D. BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CAIRO

As we started getting more and more away from the spirit of religion and drifted into mere conformism, originality gave way to superficiality, reason gave way to superstition, and courage for inquiry succumbed to blindfolded subservience to tradition. The kingdoms and the crowns, which the Muslims have lost in the course of history, are far less important than the kingdom of free and searching mind which they have lost in the process of intellectual stagnation. The result was that, while life kept moving onwards, knowledge and practice of Islam continued to lag centuries behind. Instead of remaining a complete and dynamic code of life, as it was intended to be, Islam thus became an object of external adoration to worship which one had to constantly look backward in a world which is moving constantly forward.

November 9, 1960 (*Collected Speeches— Vol: III page* 53)

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

INAUGURATION OF PAKISTAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS AT KARACHI UNIVERSITY CAMPUS

Undoubtedly, philosophy is one of the greatest and, after religion, probably the greatest institution which aims at the enlightenment of the mind and soul and discipline of instincts and emotions for the collective good of mankind, irrespective of whether process of its assimilation is fast or slow, visible or invisible.

But if you permit me to say so as a layman, I wonder whether in our own times philosophy, which, as Professor Sharif has rightly pointed out, deals with facts as well as values, has been able to keep pace with the staggering advancement which science has made and is still making.

On the one hand, we have science probing into the atom and the space and outer space and opening up new domains of knowledge which can energise, enrich and illuminate human life to an incredible extent; on the other, we have the sorry spectacle of men and nations pouncing on each new discovery to convert it into a weapon of threat and destruction. This does reflect a serious imbalance between material progress and moral culture of man of today.

To my mind, one of the many reasons for this regrettable lack of balance is that whereas the principles and products of science find an immediate application to life in one form or another, it is not always so with the abstractions of philosophy. In spite of the fact that philosophy covers such wide fields of human behaviour as metaphysics, ethics, logic etc., it has a tendency to put itself on an ivory tower of great height and assume a role which is theoretical and dogmatic rather than practical and pragmatic.

This situation is almost parallel to the case of religion in the context of modern life. The great and immutable principles of religion are failing to produce their full impact on life mainly because the methods of their application are out of step with the pace of changing times. The result is an ever widening gulf between life and religion to the utter disadvantage of both.

I believe that real fullness of life can be achieved only by bringing about a workable and effective balance and coordination between the forces of religion, philosophy and science. If the first two fail to assert their full weight, the chances are that the uncontrollable monster of science will submerge mankind under stark materialism attended by complete moral and spiritual anarchy leading perhaps to total destruction. It is only religion, backed by a rational and pragmatic philosophy, that can save the world from such a harrowing destiny.

January 1, 1961 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: III pages* 79 *to* 81)

NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

MESSAGE TO WRITERS GUILD

I take this opportunity to invite your attention to a national problem though it is not new. Now that you have spent two years on organisation, is it not necessary that you individually and jointly think of accomplishing the national aspirations of Pakistan? I am undoubtedly only a reader but you will agree with me that even the most subjective literature is ultimately objective and that even the most international outlook cannot in the first instance ignore the territorial, ideological, spiritual and intellectual four walls within which the writer lives and breathes.

I am not suggesting you subjects or scope of your writings. I wish only to tell you that, whereas the nation and the country owe you many obligations, you are also members—not ordinary but extraordinary members—of this society, and it is time your efforts for Pakistan's intellectual integrity, solidarity and greatness were recognised and revitalised.

You know it better than I do that history examines all balance sheets ruthlessly whether they belong to writers or to readers.

January 31, 1961 *(Collected Speeches—Vol: III page 97)*

A MIGHTY INSTRUMENT

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT THE NINTH COMMONWEALTH PRESS UNION CONFERENCE HELD AT RAWALPINDI

The Press is a mighty instrument for doing good—or the other thing. The greatest good it can do, in the international field, is to make one country well understood in another and create goodwill so that bonds of sympathy may grow and chances of misunderstanding may diminish. I note that this was one of the objectives with which your organisation—the Commonwealth Press Union—was founded. With the rapid growth of the Commonwealth and the addition of more and more members this task has become all the more imperative. The Commonwealth today is very different from that of the British Empire, and it was in recognition of this fact that the name of your organisation was changed from Empire Press Union to Commonwealth Press Union eleven years ago at the Seventh Conference in Canada. Since then, more territories have attained independence and the Commonwealth has become a complex and a multi-racial institution. During your deliberations, you will, no doubt, bear this fact in mind. I am sure that the discussions you hold and the decisions you take will help the member newspapers of your Union in all Commonwealth countries to do whatever they can

to promote the success of this great multi-racial experiment. The power instrument of the printed word, which reaches millions of people everyday in every country, is indeed a great force in your hands for influencing the minds of these millions of people.

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would like to say a few words on a subject which, I know, is very dear to your heart and which, I assure you, is just as dear to my own—the freedom of the Press. God gave man the power to think. No man can therefore deny to another the full and free use of that power. Freedom of thought is an inalienable right of man.

The liberty to entertain an idea carries with it the right to express it in such a form as to make it intelligible to others. Here, however, we must pause for a while and consider. The printed word enjoys a certain prestige just because it is printed.

In countries where the majority of the people have long been on terms of such familiarity with the printed word as to have lost their awe of it, the printed word cannot get away with nonsense, inaccuracy or untruthfulness, merely on the strength of its being printed. Most readers would demand a great deal more from it before they pay any heed. In such circumstances, the discrimination of the reading public can be trusted to bring about standards of responsibility among those who produce it.

On the other hand, in countries where most of the people are strangers to the written word, anything that

is printed acquires authority merely by getting printed. Those who read it in print are impressed simply because what they read was in print. They tell others. The others are equally impressed when they are told that it was in print. This is an exploitable weakness. Human nature being what it is, there will always be some people to exploit weakness in any situation.

In order to protect the freedom of thought of all, therefore, it can become imperative in such circumstances to insist by legal provisions on the enforcement of certain standard requirements to ensure responsibility among those who have the mighty instrument of a printing press under their control.

October 28, 1961

(*Collected Speeches— Vol: IV pages* 127 *to* 129)

RULE OF LAW

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH AT RECEPTION HELD IN HIS HONOUR BY LAHORE HIGH COURT BAR ASSOCIATION

You represent a profession the object of which is to render assistance to your clients so as to help the courts in the task of administering justice. It is based on the assumption that if the case of each party is processed and presented by experts, the court will be greatly facilitated in picking and choosing between the contentions of the parties. The system is therefore so adjusted that each expert is expected to pursue, to the best of his ability, the interest of the client who pays him. The interest of justice is no part of his responsibility. The client is interested in a favourable result. He is anxious to know what steps should be taken to ensure a favourable result. Most litigants are not much concerned with the legality or fairness of the steps that he is advised to take so long as those steps are in aid of the result they desire.

This circumstance places a great strain on the powers of resistance of a legal practitioner. On the one hand is the expectation of the client that all steps, whether permitted or forbidden by law, whether fair or not fair, will be taken by his counsel, and the client is willing to pay the counsel for taking those steps. On the other hand, there is his conscience and if he follows the

dictates of his conscience, there is the prospect of losing his client and the fee that the client was willing to pay.

Some practitioners succumb to the temptation of adopting the first course because they are in dire need to earn a livelihood. A few adopt the second course because they think they cannot establish themselves in practice if they do not adopt it.

It is because a sizeable portion of the members of the legal profession have, in the past, adopted doubtful means to promote the interest of their clients that the impressions, of which you have spoken, have gained ground. With the efforts that honourable Associations like yours are making to purify the conditions and standard of the profession, I have every reason to hope that such impression will gradually fade away as relics of the past.

You have said that lately a tendency has been growing in Pakistan to exclude the representation of parties by counsel before courts and tribunals which determine questions involving liberty and other valuable rights of the citizens.

You have further said that, according to the statistics of the past three years, the situation of law and order has considerably improved. You have gone on to conclude with regret and astonishment that the improvement in the statistical situation of the crime has been completely ignored and citizens are being deprived of the rights of representation through counsel, which hitherto they possessed.

Assuming for a moment that it is correct that the right to be represented by counsel before courts that determine questions relating to the liberty of citizens has in fact been curtailed, it is not clear to me how the circumstances, that during the same period the incidence of crime has been reduced, is an argument for reversing that situation. If the crime is at all relevant in this context, I should have thought that it would be a reason for proceeding further in that direction.

As a matter of fact, however, the assumption is not entirely correct. The right to be represented by counsel before courts that are presided over by persons who are themselves trained legal experts has not been touched. Intricate questions of law can be determined satisfactorily only by legal experts—with the assistance of legal experts.

It is with reference to special tribunals presided over by laymen, such as the conciliation courts which have been set up for the convenient and speedy disposal of simple matters in a restricted sphere at the local level, that the right to be represented by counsel has not been given. Not being experts themselves, the technicalities and subtleties of experts are more likely to confuse them than to help them.

You have mentioned the jurisdiction of courts in a federal structure to strike down legislative excesses. That, however, has nothing to do with fundamental rights of citizens. That only means that when previously existing independent units agree to federate, they usually demarcate the field which is surrendered to the federation

so that the federation should not trespass into the field which is not the federal field, and the federating units do not trespass into the field which they have surrendered. Any legislative trespass by one legislature into the field of the other is forbidden. Sovereign independent States that federate in this manner usually leave the question of whether the demarcating line has been crossed or has not been crossed to the courts.

In England itself there is no such doctrine as judicial review of legislation. There the Parliament is supreme in all matters. In Canada, Australia, and other old Dominions of the British Commonwealth there is no such doctrine as judicial review of legislation on the ground of violation of any fundamental rights.

All fundamental rights are subject to reasonable classifications to be imposed or made by law. Somebody has to judge the reasonableness of those restrictions and classifications. Everyone is agreed that in the first instance that someone can only be the Legislature.

The point of difference arises at the next step. Those who are in favour of incorporating justiciable fundamental rights in the Constitution feel that the final judges of the reasonableness of restrictions and classifications should be the appointed judges, who would act more or less in the capacity of superintendents over the Legislature.

You have mentioned the need for political parties which owe allegiance to the ideology of Pakistan. I

would have whole-heartedly agreed if it was possible to have them at this stage. Our experience of the performance of political parties in the past is bitter. They were the cause of disruption and demoralisation in the country. The reason was simple; there were not the leaders of stature, character, integrity and patriotism available to run them, and there was not wide enough base of intelligentsia and educated middle class to demand and enforce respectable behaviour on the part of the leaders. The result was utter chaos, confusion, and demoralisation. Have men of such stature been found during the last 3½ years to justify the belief that if parties were allowed today, the same old mushroom growth will not emerge and all the good that has been done during these years will not be undone?

I, for one, who has laboured day and night, at least, would not like to see that happen. In any case, whilst the martial law lasts, party activity cannot be allowed. So, the elections have to be held on individual merit basis. Let us give this system a trial. I believe the election will be free and honest, the electorate will behave responsibly, and good people will be elected.

You might say, why could I not start a party? True, that if I had formed a party, a large number of people would have joined it and perhaps carried my message to the people or at any rate explained to them the true philosophy and value of a host of very beneficent reforms I have carried out. I denied myself that advantage in the larger national interest. For one thing, it would have meant one party rule in the country,

which in the end would have suffered the same fate as the Muslim League giving rise to so many splinter groups.

My view is that if parties are to come, these must come in a regulated manner under a code of conduct and they should not be more than two or three. That can best be done through the medium of Central Legislature after free and full national debate.

I have no doubt that you will obtain much more satisfactory and stable answer in this manner. Meanwhile, it is the duty of every patriotic Pakistani to follow what is being done in the country, build up faith in himself and his cause and be wary of disruptionists and meet their challenge. This has to be a joint effort between the Government agencies and the citizens.

You have talked of the separation of the judiciary from the executive. You have equated it with the independence of the judiciary which is an indispensable requirement of a democratic State. The independence of the judiciary for the due safeguarding of the democratic process is already secured as firmly in the new Constitution as is humanly possible. You must have noticed that while the misconduct of the members of the executive and of the Legislature is triable by the higher courts, and the misconduct of the President is triable by the Legislature, the misconduct of the judiciary is triable by itself.

What you have in mind is the discontinuance of the existing arrangement of the trial of criminal cases in the

districts by magistrates who are also entrusted with executive duties and are under the control of the District Magistrate and not of the District Judge. This is an administrative problem involving many factors, including the question of finances, which will have to be considered very carefully before a decision is arrived at.

Before I finish, there are a couple of things which I would like to put before you for consideration. We all must, of course, insist that the rule of law should prevail. This term includes a number of things which you know best. But I, as a layman, would like it to include prevalence of lawful conditions in the country as the end object. If that be so, then when Bar Associations get tempted to pass resolutions on matters of law and order, they must bear in mind the need for maintaining legitimate discipline in the country.

Secondly, I would like to have seen much greater originality of thought being brought to bear on matters relating to our political, social and other institutions. At present the tendency is to copy advanced countries blind-foldedly, especially in constitutional matters, with obvious disastrous results. But in this we are not the only culprit; most of the emerging countries suffer from this malady and have had to pay for it in instability and arrested progress. The reason perhaps is that though we are now politically free, we have not yet attained intellectual freedom

We must try and break out of this bondage and evolve institutions suited to our conditions and needs. The

new Constitution is such an attempt and I would like you to view it from that angle.

On this subject, I am surprised, no world forum has yet been evolved which could consider the institutional problems of new countries. There is a dire need for such a study and guidance to save them from chaos and disintegration.

October 27, 1962 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: IV pages* 211 *to* 219)

STABILITY

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS BEFORE THE FOREIGN PRESS ASSOCIATION AT A LUNCHEON IN LONDON

One of the basic problems which faced newly emerging countries was the stability of Government. If they did not have it, living standards of people could be affected and finally independence would be defeated.

Pakistan, in its hurry and strong belief in independence, had thought it the panacea of all its problems. Pakistan had not paused to think that she should have a democratic system understood by its people. They had instead taken a Western point of view at first.

The newly emergent countries of today could find themselves in similar difficulties unless they realised this.

Generally, the Western world had departed from religion. Outward forms and manifestations of democracy had taken the place of religion. That influence and attitude was reflected in dealings by the Press with the newly emerging world. Many people called themselves intellectuals. Their definition of an intellectual was a man with too much knowledge who did not know how to use it.

The independence and freedom which we have got we shall use for fruitful purposes to develop our country and enable us to take advantage of our security and inheritance.

September 14, 1962 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: V page* 36)

THE NEW WORLD

SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF INAUGURATION OF INTERNATIONAL BOOK EXHIBITION ORGANISED BY THE BUREAU OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION WEST PAKISTAN AT THE UNIVERSITY HALL LAHORE

In the past, the habit of reading was usually cultivated by the selected few. But the needs of the modern age have radically changed things and reading is now a common practice all over the world. We have in our own modest way a reasonably rich tradition in the field of literature and I feel confident that this exhibition will help to revive and further enrich such traditions.

The world today is composed of the developed and the developing countries. This distinction is based on the degree of economic and social development attained by the various countries. A study of the social and economic history of the advanced countries will show that it was the acquisition of technical and scientific skills by their peoples which transformed the Western civilisation. The spread of these skills was made possible by the spread of knowledge and this spread of knowledge was the result of expansion of education and of reading habits in these peoples. There was a large scale production of books in all fields of studies and they were made available to the general public at reasonable prices. Thus the author and the publisher played a vital

role in the spread of knowledge in these countries. I should therefore like to commend to our writers and publishers to make joint fields of studies, particularly in the fields of science and technology. Just as it is vital for writers to transmit the latest thinking in their fields, it is equally important for the publishers to make publications available at a price within the reach of an average reader in Pakistan. For, without the spread of reading habits in our people we cannot hope to build an enlightened society, much less to fulfil our plans of social and economic development.

It has been said that nothing is more educative than the awareness of how other people live. We can add that it is an essential feature of modern education that it should make us conscious of how other people think and feel. At present our educated classes and others associated with intellectual pursuits tend to operate within a very narrow field. They are inclined to approach contemporary problems with a superficiality and narrowness of perspective which damages the dignity of their professions. It is high time that our intellectuals made a serious effort to go beyond the confines of personal prejudices and to widen their mental horizons so as to assimilate the advances in knowledge and learning being made by other countries. This is the only way to develop a constructive attitude to life.

December 1, 1962 *(Collected Speeches—Vol: V pages* 77 *and* 78)

THE PROFESSION OF LAW

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH AT ALL PAKISTAN LAWYERS CONVENTION HELD AT DACCA

Your great profession can take pardonable pride in the fact that it has been throwing up from its ranks men of great stature and learning who made invaluable contributions to our national awakening. I am sure the profession would keep up its traditions and as a profession lawyers would be second to none in building up a strong and progressive Pakistan. I would, however, say one thing and that is this.

For sometime to come even in this modern scientific age lawyers undoubtedly will play a leading part in running the country, and whereas in the past the knowledge of law was perhaps sufficient to give guidance in certain matters like running the State and so on, activities of the State and the community today in this world have become so large, so diversified and so scientific that to those of you who have ambition to enter political life I will plead that you may give this matter your thought and try to prepare yourself in matters outside your legal profession which are just as important for the welfare of the community as a basic requirement of law.

There are always two parties to a dispute. The dispute might be between man and man or between man and the State. When such a dispute requires adjudication by

a court or a tribunal, no matter that a counsel has been briefed or engaged by a party it should be his duty to assist a just determination of the case. I should be pardoned for over-emphasising that the principal duty of the counsel is to the court where he appears so that the court is assisted to determine the case before it justly and in accordance with law. A party's counsel should do his utmost to present the case of his client fairly and clearly. But in his zeal to earn the estimation of his client he should never sacrifice the ends of justice. A lawyer ought to be an asset to the administration of justice, and it is not his office to clog or subvert, impede or subvert the course of justice with the ulterior object of safeguarding only the interest of his client.

Like all other specialists, lawyers are entitled to remuneration for their services in so far as they represent their clients. There is a growing feeling that the more competent lawyers are becoming prohibitive in regard to their charges. Such a tendency, wherever it exists, brings no credit to your profession. Justice is the right of the poor and the rich alike. I would plead that lawyers should be more charitable in the matter of fees which they demand or charge from those who invoke their aid in distress. It is one of the noblest traditions of your profession to assist the securing of justice to the needy no matter that all of them cannot pay the exorbitant legal remuneration. Let it not be said that remedial justice, which is so dependent on adequate legal assistance, is a luxury which only the rich clients can afford. I would like to see Bar Associations develop free legal aid societies which would assist the destitute litigants.

In this context, it would be appreciated that even the fiscal policy of the State makes exceptions in favour of the poor who cannot pay court fees, etc. If the State can make concession for providing remedial justice to the poor, the Bar ought to contribute by making available at least cheap legal aid if not free legal aid.

Mr. Chairman, I assure you that my Government would always appreciate any suggestions which your profession may make in regard to the resolution of various issues wherein international law or other complex problems of law are involved. It is encouraging to note that you are envisaging seminars on such issues which confront the nation. If books be needed for encouraging research on any subject, my Government would sympathetically consider any proposals whereby you are facilitated to enrich your libraries.

Mr. Chairman, in your address you have suggested that Bar Associations as such should be afforded a consultative status in matters connected with legislation. It would be appreciated that when amendments to the procedural law were envisaged the opinion of the Bar Associations was invited. The Government prefers to elicit public opinion on legislative measures which require consideration by the people at large and in this behalf we have on several occasions invited the opinion of Bar Associations. I assure you that in matters relating to procedural law we would like to elicit your opinion and my Government would be responsive to any proposals which are conducive to speedy and efficacious dispensation of justice.

Mr. Chairman, you have referred to the recent amending ordinance whereby some changes have been introduced in the Civil Procedure Code. Suffice it to say that the amending ordinance was promulgated in accordance with the recommendations of the Law Reforms Commission which belongs to your tribe, and there was a countrywide demand that the law reforms suggested by the Commission should be implemented as you have said already yourself. I am taking due note of your criticism about the changes in the Civil Procedure Code. We have invited opinions of Bar Associations on this subject and I assure you that the opinions of Bar Associations would receive my due consideration.

Some important amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedure resulting from the recommendations of the Law Reforms Commission have been circulated for opinion to the Supreme Court, the High Court, and some important Bar Associations. The text of the amendments has already been published in the Press. Originally, it was intended that these amendments should be discussed at a conference to be attended by the Chief Justices and the Presidents of Bar Associations. Twenty-sixth November was fixed as the date for such conference. The conference, however, had to be postponed because of an emergent session of the National Assembly having been called. Further steps regarding these amendments have yet to be taken. We will take into consideration all points of view before a legislation is undertaken on this subject. The same is the position concerning the proposals for the amendment of the Evidence Act.

There is one thing in this connection I would like to mention and that is this: Please do not misunderstand any efforts that I made from time to time to make the justice in our country a little more cheaper, a little more speedier, a little more quicker. One truth I would like to say whether you see it or not, but which I as an outsider certainly see. It is this that there is basically nothing wrong with our laws. They are working very well in the country from where they emanated. But in order to operate this law we had to corrupt that law which has in turn corrupted us.

What is your answer? We cannot all of a sudden scrap all these laws. We cannot do away with all these things. But the answer to my mind lies in realism and pragmatism which is this that had we not been a subject nation or race what would have been the type of laws we would have been applying in our circumstances, in our conditions. And I think the more you think in that line, that is, bring your laws in line with our conditions and our circumstances which awakened our conditions, the more you will be near the realities. And that would in no manner hurt your profession personally. I do not think so. People would still need legal practitioners and legal assistance in administering any form of laws that are produced. But basically any amendments that are made in the laws should be really with a view to bringing them in line with our circumstances, with our conditions, and with our state of services, the way we look upon a thing and so on. If you do that, I have no doubt in my mind that you will be nearer the mark and you will be making a great contribution

towards the progress of the country and satisfaction of the vast multitude of the people.

Mr. Chairman, in your address of welcome you have alleged that the Bar is looked upon with suspicion and distrust. I do not know by whom and why. Certainly not by the Government, certainly not by me. I certainly have difference of opinion with some of your members but there can be honest difference of opinion with friends. That right I must allow everybody. You talk about freedom of speech and freedom of thought, that is the right of freedom of speech and freedom of thought. I take this opportunity to say that this allegation is not correct. The Bar is richly represented in all the superior courts of the country and a contrast with the situation which obtained in pre-Independence period would convince all concerned that there is no distrust or suspicion in regard to your profession. And look at the Cabinets that we have in the Provinces and the Centre completely dominated by the legal profession.

I am glad to note that you have appreciated the principle of direct recruitment to the posts in Superior Courts from the members of the Bar.

Mr. Chiarman, in your address you have referred to the justiciability of fundamental rights. This matter is already under the consideration of the Government and I have already stated my Government's position on the subject.

You are not quite satisfied with the bill that we have circulated or may have published. One thing I would

like to ask you and that is this. Look at our conditions. We are in a formative stage. We are breaking out from a stagnant state. Our society has been stagnant, we being a subject race, and through force of circumstances we led a life that did not require our activities of forward thinking or reforms of major nature. Certainly we did not have even the power to carry out reforms even if we wanted it. Today if we have to make progress then first of all we have to bring in social change in our country. During the Martial Law regime major social changes were brought about. Now the impact of these social changes are not being felt in East Pakistan because they do not affect East Pakistan. Take, for instance, the land reforms in West Pakistan. Take again the 'auqaf,' take settlement of refugee problems. All these things, if you judge them by the strict judicial standards, can go to prove the questions.

These changes we have been able to bring about with the least amount of resistance, with the least amount of oppression. The most one has to do is the persuasion. Even landlords, who in some cases have lost or surrendered vast amount of properties, are satisfied with whatever they are given as an economic unit on which they can live and are prepared to work. Now, if you are to take all these things to the court, we say why these 7,500 powerful people in West Pakistan would not go to the court. Among the people affected by 'auqaf' were very powerful persons in this state or another and so on and so forth. And they have been praying against all along for the last three years. Now if you upset all that, look to the amount of havoc you will create in the country. And

so I beg of you, that is the way the realism comes. If you want your society to remove all these, we have to carrry out certain surgical operations to remove our past evils which a stagnant society accumulates around us. If we had been a sovereign people, as time moved on, the sovereignty would have forced these changes on us. The mere fact of necessity of maintaining the state and the society would have forced us to take all such measures. But we were not responsible. British people were here. We were all concerned in making our living. It was no concern of ours how the State is to progress and how its evils should be removed. So if you go strictly by the legalistic sense in a moving society which is just trying to break our stagnation you will thwart our progress which we have so far made, and I can assure you that you will not do good to the country. So, when you look at these, please look at them from a practical, pragmatic and realistic angle and do something and ask something which will help to promote the interest of our people at large more than purely going by some text books or the other. And, as I often used to say, it is a good thing to read the books on Pakistan and know the conditions in our country and do something which will contribute towards the betterment of the people. You will be surprised to know how much good has occurred as a result of the land reforms in West Pakistan.

I judge things by the standard of conditions in Sind. For instance, I am keen on bird-shooting. It gives me an opportunity for relaxation. I am a working man for the last 36 years and that is the relaxation, what you might call, I have, and this also gives me an opportunity

to see people, to see conditions and so on. Most of these ideas that emanated may be wrong; you may not agree with them but this occurs to me because of my intimate knowledge of the people and intimate knowledge of the conditions of the country. Whenever there is any problem in Pakistan I do not have to look at the map because I have been to that place at sometime or the other during the course of my service. Now you would see, in old days you had a feat like this—right in the middle there is a big bush and the fellow just round the bush would not bother to remove that obstruction. You agree. The land belongs to some 'Vadera.' He was only a tenant. He is not interested who the hell he is and why he should go to exert more than what was necessary. All he had to do was to keep his body and soul together and keep the children alive. But today a transformation has taken place. I have moved from one end to the other. In the Punjab, people are very good farmers but lower down you will see how carefully their fields are looked after. Little bunds that used to be a size of several yards have got down to the barest minimum from which more food is being drawn.

Our Five-Year Plan talked about the target of 23 lakh bales of cotton in five years' time. Today, this year, we hope we shall get 20 lakh bales of cotton. Why: because people have interest in the land, and direct interest they have. Now a large number of people have been given option to buy land which they used to till so long at a very nominal cost spread over a period of 20 years. Others who still remain tenants and cannot get enough of land will be able to get from this people

so that everybody becomes economically self-sufficient. They are still tenants but they are tenants with backing of security. They cannot remove their tenants from their lands unless they prove before the Revenue Officer that the man is not capable of carrying out the part of the contract. So, enormous amount of stability—and shall we say security—has come to the minds of the people.

December 23, 1962

(Collected Speeches—Vol: V pages 80 *to* 86)

NATIONAL COHESION

MESSAGE ON THE OCCASION OF THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF PAKISTAN WRITERS GUILD HELD AT LAHORE

A problem that still confronts Pakistan is our national cohesion based on the ideology of Pakistan, and I wonder if all concerned are really doing their best for its fast achievement. Your responsibility in the task should be the greatest. For, it is the writer who reflects and can also influence his environment in the physical, mental and spiritual dimensions.

We are faced with various social evils too which cannot be wiped out by force of law alone. A large-scale purge of social evils is also your responsibility.

Let not posterity say that there was a wonderful chance for a free and great nation to build itself which was lost by it. You have a powerful vehicle of moulding the history—your pen. Use it for your country first, and you know better than I do how to use it.

January 1, 1963 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: V page* 101)

NATURAL COURSE OF OUR HISTORY

EXTRACTS FROM REPLY TO ADDRESS OF WELCOME PRESENTED BY RAWALPINDI BAR ASSOCIATION

Now, I thought that we have to have legal reforms. The legal reforms should be such that they will enable our history to run its natural course which was interrupted through the occupation of a foreign power for two hundred years or so. In theory, a very admirable theory, but in practice, we are used to the British legal system and we cannot entirely ignore it. However, our people will never get complete satisfaction, and will never have faith in this system, unless it is brought in conformity with the circumstances and with their temperament, their past, their history, their ideology and so on. And we thought that this is the first step. The very basic step, that we could take, was to make conciliation available to the people within their environments in order to reduce litigation, to reduce unnecessary expenses, and unnecessary wastage of time, so that pepole could have more time to devote to more purposeful activity. I, unfortunately, had not enough time to go into the entire legal laws and they are very extensive.

Certain people have certain very drastic views. The Constitution was introduced at a stage when we were just in the beginning or just in the middle of considering

these measures and we were not able to enforce the type of laws, the type of system, that we should really follow.

You have referred to the Islamic concept of State policy and social justice while asking that Fundamental Rights be made justiciable. Now this question has been asked many times. It has been asked dozens of times, if not hundreds of times, and we have answered it several times. So, therefore, I think I should better repeat what I have been saying in the past.

I am glad that you have referred to the Islamic concept and not the borrowed Western concept. So far as I am aware, there is nothing in the present Constitution which is against the Islamic concept and, in fact, it is based on that. It is designed to bring about an Islamic way of life in the country. It cannot be done by pressing a button or switching on a light. It is a time-absorbing factor. It takes time to change the mentality of the people in order to be able to make them live a certain way of life. It has to be a slow process, through education, through environmental conditions, through associations, and through the change of general outlook. I do not think anyone has the power to change all of a sudden this concept, past concept, and bring it to what you might call "Islamic concept". It is a time-absorbing thing but we have done all in order to enable people to lead that type of life; that is, to be able to live in this world as modern human beings and, at the same time, have fear of God and a standard of morality as a basis for their conduct and relationship with one other.

We are a developing country. What is the meaning of a developing country? We have been a subject country with the result that our life has not been dynamic; our life has not been progressive, and we became a stagnant society. Education was limited as well as enlightenment and awakening and, all of a sudden, we found ourselves independent. A country of some 100 million now; it has to run itself. It only has got its internal and external problems. It can progress if it gets rid of its past, bad and evil practices and evil social customs, and level the ground for further advancement of the society as a whole. And the meaning of that is that you have got to bring in certain reforms to be able to do so. The meaning of reforms is that you have to hurt some vested interests. Take land reforms, or the settlement scheme that we brought in, and so many other things. If you judge these measures purely from the standard of Fundamental Rights and so on and so forth, they will have no place, and no court will go along with those laws. If you want to do away with them, we can introduce justiciability of Fundamental Rights. But the meaning of that will be that it is the rich man who will stop the society from progress. It is the rich man who will go to the higher courts and say that, by bringing in such and such reforms, these people are going to hurt my personal interests. This is what is going to happen.

It is not to deny the people the right to get justice or to stop the excesses of the Government. But how could it be the right of a few individuals to stop the progress of society. At the same time, the Fundamental Rights

have been enshrined in the Constitution in the form of Principles of Law-making so that the law-makers, when they are making this law, are aware of these essentials. You could read them and they are very noble ones. Even if 50 per cent of those laws are carried out, you would not be doing too badly. So, we thought, in order not to stop the progress of the country, let your Legislature be the judge, shall we say, of the enforcement of Fundamental Rights and ensuring that our laws conform to those rights. So, it is the function of the executive too. After all, any executive that exists in this country —it is not a Government of foreigners—belongs to Pakistanis; they are your brethren. If they are doing their job, they are doing it for the good of the people—if there is any good at all. So, why should they bring in any law that hurts the society, their pride or their self-respect or their human rights or anything like that? Why should they? What good will they get out of it? They cannot. At the same time, if you make everything justiciable, well, then you might as well pack up.

Now this business of separating the Judiciary from the executive keeps on cropping up. I do not know much about it really. I do not know where the shoe pinches, because even in districts you have your 'Munsifs' and your Sub-Judges and so on and so forth. There are, I believe, a certain number of Magistrates who perform dual functions, executive functions as well as judicial functions. I believe there is a scheme that West Pakistan people are considering. I think the East Pakistan people too will give this matter a thought and some sort of arrangement will be evolved whereby, I hope, the

Magistrates who do the judicial work will continue to do so and yet be considered for promotion in the same cadre. If you reduce the Masgistrates' number too much, then that cadre becomes very small and their chances of promotion are limited. There are certain administrative difficulties in that. But how any injustice is done to anybody, I do not know. As I say, I am not an expert on this thing, but this is a thing that keeps on worrying people. I know that the legal profession keeps on demanding it. On the other hand, if you talk to the administrators, they say it is the most fatal thing to do and your district administration will come to a halt and utter chaos. Where the truth lies, I do not know; I am no expert, but after having examined, I hope something will come out.

August 16, 1963 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: VI pages* 3 *to* 8 *and* 11, 12)

REAL EDUCATION AND CHANGED ROLE OF SERVICES

ADDRESS AT THE ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF COLLEGE LAHORE

It is amazing how widespread the feeling is among all people, including the services, that once a man has passed through the portals of the college, he has finished his education. Particularly after sitting through a competitive examination, reading the probationery courses, and passing the departmental examinations, the Government officer is satisfied that he has learnt all that there was to learn and that the rest of his life was meant to earn.

There could be no greater mistaken notion than this. Actually, the real education begins when one enters life. Even theoretical education must be kept up, as knowledge in all its branches grows daily. The man who does not keep his knowledge up-to-date cannot claim to be educated or qualified to do his work. In fact, we are required by Islam to persist in the pursuit of knowledge. The Holy Quran teaches us to pray: "My Lord, increase my knowledge". And the Holy Prophet said, "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave". So, the pursuit of knowledge is a life-long obligation for us.

I am sure that the services realise that their role is now changed. Instead of governing colonial territory,

they are now the servants of an independent people and country which are anxious to develop as soon as possible. The Government lays down the policy. But it is the services which are in charge of the innumberable development schemes and projects. The higher officers provide inspiration and guidance to their armies of subordinates.

Since the development of managerial capacity in an officer is important to equip him for the higher tasks, I should like to emphasise the aspect of management in it. In our country, management is practised at its best probably in the Army. It might be a good thing to include in your field work a visit to the troops or to get senior army officers to come and tell you how the army officers are taught to look after their men. A lot depends whether we adopt the Western approach, by which I mean the view point of modern science which treats man as a material being. At the most, he is credited with a will of his own. That is bad enough as it is most difficult to handle material each unit of which has a will and a way of his own.

But Islam teaches us that each man and woman has a spirit and that you can get the best results if you move the spirit of the man. There is great need in the Government offices for a little bit of humane relationship instead of the officer and subordinate equation. Distinction in rank is there and will remain. But there is no reason why there should not be greater sympathy and feeling for those who are less fortunate than you and

who are placed in subordination to you. It is a mistake to treat one's subordinates as inferior human beings. Don't forget that they have a will of their own, and their own feelings and susceptibilities, which make them do better or worse as the spirit motivates them. Human kindness, sympathy and interest bring out better cooperation and willing service from your sabordinates than the exercise of authority.

August 24, 1963 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: VI pages* 19 *to* 21)

THINKING POWER

SPEECH AT A CIVIC RECEPTION IN HIS HONOUR GIVEN BY THE CITIZENS OF DACCA

We are sometimes inclined to believe too much in bureaucracy. My belief is that we should try to take the history of our country back to the channel in which it should have been flowing had we not become a subject race for 200 years. It is only then that the institutions we create will be nearer to the heart of the people because, then, they will be satisfying their needs. That alone will allow men of goodwill and thinking people to think objectively and in original terms as to what are circumstances and what sorts of institutions will flourish in our country.

The trouble with human beings is that although the most powerful instrument that the nature has given us is the thinking power, yet it is the last thing in the world we want to use. Having lived in the protective shell of tradition too long, people start extolling tradition. It is a good thing to extol tradition up to a point. But basically, traditions are just like narcotics. They make you feel sleepy and they certainly help you in trying to evade the thinking process. But without original thinking, you

cannot create anything new. You cannot create anything worth-while. Life is dynamic, life is moving. In order to move with it and cater for its requirements, we have to think originally. I believe in these thinking processes. I am sure those who genuinely, honestly and dispassionately think about our political and other problems, the more they think about these, the more we shall be coming nearer to getting into the right course in which our history should follow. I hope all those people who are gifted with this thinking power would apply this thinking in the interest of their country and come forward with any suggestions they may have to make.

You might say where is the forum in which such thoughts can be expressed, but there are forums. Well, if there are any deficiencies and lacunae, then, I think, we must do something to remove these. What I have in mind is that we should call upon intellectuals and experts in different fields, different walks of life, to make syndicates in different subjects and whenever the Government has a problems that problem should be referred to these bodies and solutions obtained. There should be free discussions between the Governmental agencies and the people outside who can contribute by thought. The effect of the will be that if there is originality of thought anywhere, we shall be able to absorb that. Furthermore, those who are not connected directly with the running of the Government will by this process be able to understand the limitation Government has to face in solving certain problems. Therefore a community of thought will develop in consequence. It will then be passed on to

other people who come into contact with these gentlemen and so on. We will do all that we can to encourage people to come forward with thoughts that will enable the country to make more rapid progress in different fields.

March 7, 1964

(Collected Speeches— Vol: VI pages 154 *and* 155)

CROSS-FERTILIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE

ADDRESS AT THE 16TH ALL PARISTAN SCIENCE CONFERENCE HELD AT AGRICULTURAL UNIVERSITY LYALLPUR

I have no doubt that the degree of cooperation amongst the scientists of the world would be a most significant index of the future progress of mankind. Indeed, there is no lack of evidence to show that such collaboration influenced the emergence of some of the most important phases of human history. Perhaps, by far the most significant scientific break-through in early renaissance was achieved by the cross-fertilization of the knowledge existing in the Orient and the Occident. It was an interesting stage of history—at the time, the stimulus flowed from East to West even as it must flow from West to East today.

We do not think that it is derogatory to learn from others. All civilizations have passed from one nation to another. The age-old civilization of the Egyptians was absorbed by the Greeks. It was then taken by the Romans who, in their turn, gave it to the Arabs. This civilization again was taken by the Arabs to Medieval Europe which has taken the shape of modern Europe, reflecting the present scientific achievements. But in learning new things from others, we should retain our good things which are beautiful and can remove

causes of friction among the nations. We should have an open mind and an open heart in adopting the good things of other people.

March 24, 1964

(*Collected Speeches—*
Vol: VI page 176)

MUSLIM NATIONALISM

SPEECH AT THE ARTS COUNCIL OF PAKISTAN KARACHI

I have always been feeling that there is considerable confusion in our thoughts and aims as regards our political objectives. That can be the only explanation why whereas the Hindu community, by and large, was united on the essentials of Hindu nationalism—I do not say they belonged to the same party—the Muslims were a divided community for the simple reason that they were not clear in their minds as to what should be their political aim. And I tell you that their political aim was, and still is in Pakistan, the promotion of Muslim nationalism in the sub-continent; and that of Muslim nationalism in order to produce a focus of power within an area where we are sovereign and where we can promote our ideology and develop our way of thinking and living.

That is the reason why Muslims, not having been able to clearly define their political objective, were divided. Some worked for Pakistan; some saw their salvation and the salvation of their community in a throw-back effort to a life of 1400 years and so on. And that is why we were divided.

I think the time has now come when we should clearly see our political requirements, define them and firmly hang on to them, and then act in the light of them.

In simple terms I will suggest that our objective is the establishment of Muslim nationalism.

There is a lesson that one learns from the history of the Muslims in this sub-continent, and that is this. As long as the Centre was powerful the Muslims led a respectable life, and as soon as it was weakened the Muslims were disorganised and led a depraved life.

The focus of power and the Centre of Muslim power broke down in 1707 at the time of Aurangzeb. Some people called him bigoted, extremist, and so on—I would call him a conformist.

May be that it was a coincidence, or may be that it was due to his policy, that Hindu nationalism took birth at that time. It took birth in the shape of Marhatta movement, in the shape of Sikh movement, and in the shape of Rajput movement. Those movements were directed against the Muslim central power.

The British appeared on the scene and gradually the Muslim power was broken, and when the British left, the Muslims found themselves disorganised. Pakistan then came into being. Even today Muslims are suffering in India and we too have remained under pressure of India for the last 17 years. Unless the circumstances radically change within a foreseeable future, we shall remain on mobilisation basis.

There were thinking people amongst Muslims who, as early as two centuries ago, felt that the salvation of the

Muslim community no longer lay in the hands of the top level of soceity. If they had any good in them the Muslim power would not have broken. They had lost the right to hold that power. Therefore the salvation of the Muslims will have to come through the effort of the masses and awakening of the masses and the leadership of the masses.

That was the call of men like Shah Waliullah and his son, and Sir Syed, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. They were all labelled as heretics. Orthodox people always use such weapons against thinking people who produce new ideas. But they went on with their task and that objective is still with us.

Let us remember that a strong Centre means a strong Pakistan. Strength of Pakistani Muslims would also enable them to give support to those who need succour and assistance.

The other necessity for establishing Muslim nationalism and producing a strong Centre is that if we are strong in Pakistan we will be able to command respect of others. By our deeds and actions we would be able to serve the cause of Islam better as well as that of Muslim community abroad.

In order to achieve this aim we have got to enter the new age fast. The vicissitudes of the history of past 200 years of the British rule have left us behind times.

Our need today is to enter this 20th century—the age of science and technology—so that we may gain necessary power as to be able to defend ourselves and to better our lives.

Today is really the struggle—the two-pronged struggle. This really is the aim of all the reforms that we have introduced. First of all, the aim is to remove, as far as possible, the social imbalances that have been created as a result of past history, and secondly, to prepare the people for a march forward in this scientific age while clinging tenaciously to our spiritual and moral heritage.

We are also not clear as to what our spiritual and moral heritage is.

To me the ideology of Islam really means the establishment of generosity towards each other; establishment of the spirit of brotherhood and equality among mankind. That to me is the basis of Islam and from these concepts emerge all the spiritual and moral laws of our great religion.

While firmly standing by these basic aims, we must have the right to find our way and our salvation in accordance with the circumstances that confront us. In order to get rid of the stagnation we have got to apply our minds to the problems of life. And only then we can break away from our past stagnation and move on with the times. That is what I have been working for in my humble way.

What we need today is applied science. After we have gone beyond the stage of providing for our needs, we can think of other things also.

Similarly, I think your mental activities in other spheres of life should also be of a nature that produces a return for the community. It is your sacred duty to do so. I often think that charity and generosity which is enjoined on us by our religion is not necessarily limited to giving away money or material things. If you are gifted by God with creative energies, you must also give to your community the benefit of your thoughts and your ideas.

My endeavour is to create a platform whereby our thinking should take a new and a fresh start—from whatever source it comes it should be in conformity with your circumstances, needs, and requirements. I hope we shall be able to establish a machinery to obtain ideas from you. I was told on one occasion that some of the ideas might be totally irrelevant; I do not think that matters a bit. Even if one per cent ideas are workable, that is enough. You never know that a single idea might change the destiny of a nation. I hope you would be able to establish a system, a machinery, whereby those ideas would be collected, sifted and acted upon.

July 25, 1964 *(Collected Speeches—Vol: VII pages 7 to 10)*

ORIENTAL THINKING

SPEECH AT THL THINKERS FORUM AT THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS LAHORE

The interviewers asked the question as to why shouldn't there be a common approach in the Commonwealth towards civil rights, towards constitutional processes, and so on. Now that wasn't a lay question. I personally have been convinced that so-called intellectuals in the Western world, and especially in Britain and America, have lost their religion. They have no faith in their religion. They may go through the exercise of observing the outward manifestation of their religion, but they have no belief in their religion. But a human being cannot live without an ideology, without a religion. Even Communism is a religion. So, in order to fill that gap, for them the outward manifestation of their democratic system is a religion. Just as, for instance, if we don't pray five times a day, do not fast, do not go to Haj, we are called bad Muslims. Even though we may tell a hundred lies and do many other wrong things, but if we perform these outward manifestations, we are called good Muslims.

I think that is what is happening in the United States, and that is what is happening in Britain. Anyone

who departs from the outward manifestations and forms of their democratic system is called a heretic. For us there is a lesson in it, and that is this that we have found our political liberty, but we have not found our psychological liberty, as even here I am talking to you in their language. Whenever we want to engage in serious thinking and study, we use the English language and read English texts. We are psychologically not a free people because we have certain ideas borrowed from the British and we still think that those are the standards, and if we do anything which departs from those ideas, we think that we are doing something wrong.

I think that is one of the major battles that we have to wage to regain our self-respect and our self-confidence. That will only come if we are original, when we produce original ideas and produce institutions, political and other institutions, that are based on our circumstances and our conditions, and in which we can have faith, which we can work. Only then we can have true progress in the country and unity among the people of Pakistan.

When the Constitution is sometimes criticised, not only outside but within the country too, I feel sorry for such people. I only wish and pray that they would apply their minds more effectively. They often tell you that certain aspects of it differ from what John Stuart Mill or somebody else wrote, and what someone in America has said in the text-book, and my reply always is: Please sometimes—for a short time even—read the book of Pakistan, and then you might get some wisdom

out of it. Get to know the people of Pakistan, get to know the problems of this land, get to know our internal problems and our external dangers, and once you get to know that, you will come to this conclusion that the major requirement of Pakistan is a stable Government. It should be democratic. It must be brought into being by the will of the people, but we must gain stability as a means to developing our country and developing our society. Unless a political system gives that, it is not worth it. Then it is a poison to us, as it has proved before 1958. So, for God's sake, every thinking Pakistani must think originally so as to get his self-confidence and his self-respect. Unless free people do that and take pride in their own institutions and create their own institutions, they will never be free people.

The question was asked whether the Opposition has a role to play. Of course, it has got a role to play. We have to see what are the requirements that are needed for a Pakistani society to run Pakistan. As long as the basis of Pakistan remains what it is, and on the basis of which it was brought into being, then there are two or three things which are demanded of everybody in Pakistan if he is in political field, whether with the ruling party or the Opposition. Our first essential is to establish Muslim Nationalism, in the meaning of a common brotherhood of Muslims in Pakistan. The equality and brotherhood of man, and all our laws, all our customs, all our traditions must be based on that basic concept. We must nourish Muslim Nationalism in this country, and in order to nourish that and in order to seek security, continuity, and stability, we have got to have a

strong Central Government. This is the absolute irreducible minimum, the pre-requisites to the very existence of Pakistan; as a matter of fact for the very existence of the Muslim society in this sub-continent. You study the history of the Muslims in this sub-continent, and you find that as long as they had a strong Centre, whether it was in the form of an autocratic king or some other form, Muslim civilisation and the Muslim society flourished. And as soon as the central power weakened, the Muslims' sufferings started. And that started from the time when Aurangzeb died.

Ever since then, we have taken punishment after punishment and our trials and tribulations have not yet finished. True, we are a free people in Pakistan but we have been much under pressure and oppression in India where the life of Muslims is still worse than that of a dog. That has happened because we have not had a strong enough Centre, with enough power to be able to give cover and protection to the Muslim society. Unless all Pakistanis bear this in mind, we will never be clear about what we are aiming at and what we are trying to achieve. Controversy in a free society there must be, right or wrong, on sound or unsound basis, but once the controversies have been thrown open to criticism by public opinion and decisions are made by the representatives of the people, then, I think, basically we ought to begin with those settled facts of life. Their variations and applications can be considered in the light of circumstances and in the light of conditions and requirements.

So, these are the basic requirements for all Pakistanis to understand, and as long as the Opposition in this country conforms and accepts this irreducible minimum and supports it, well, then the Opposition has a very definite role to play. Unfortunately, our Opposition has not got that in their mind yet. I am not unhopeful and the time may make them see reason, may make them see light, and if that happens it would be a very great blessing for Pakistan. We would then be a mature society and capable of looking at things dispassionately and getting sound and proper decisions.

But, inspite of all our difficulties, we have been able to transact an enormous amount of business in our Assemblies, especially in the Central Assembly, where tricky problems were discussed and resolved—problems concerning the Constitution which are all difficult and generate a lot of heat.

October 4, 1964 *(Collected Speeches— Vol: VII pages* 42 *to* 44)

RIGHTS OF COMMON MAN

ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF INAUGURATION OF NEWLY CONSTRUCTED BLOCK OF AITCHISON COLLEGE LAHORE

The new times talk in terms of the rights of common man, the basic equality of all individuals, of merits, and people who have got the necessary qualities of brain and character in them, and of giving them an opportunity to improve themselves better for service to humanity and service to their country.

Now, another thing that has happened in Pakistan must be understood and that is this that this country today is engaged in two major tasks—one is the unification of the people living in Pakistan, and the other is trying to project and enter into the age of science and technology in order that we develop our country, in order that we improve our living standards and everything else that goes with it.

Now, this is a gigantic effort, a great effort, to call upon a stagnant society to break out of stagnation and enter a new sphere of life which is totally different, and which requires a rational approach that nothing is taken for granted until you are mentally satisfied that it is sound, true and right. Now, that is not an easy task; it is an extremely difficult task. Human beings are traditionalists. They want to hang back on traditions.

In fact, they want to hang back, relying on things that their forefathers did. But today, the time is a fast moving time. What our forefathers did is not going to serve us and is not going to help us, and how can we enable ourselves to move with these times and take advantage of the facilities that come to human beings.

The only way that we can do this is to apply our mind to everything that comes in front of us in a most rational fashion, and in a most objective way, regardless of what the traditions are. Now, this is easier said than done. It is an extremely difficult thing to do. My own personal experience of life is this that although God has given us the most valuable equipment of thinking power, it is the last thing in the world that an average person wants to utilise. And that is why, by nature, we are traditionalists. But we have got to break out of this mental stagnation, and the quicker we do so the earlier we shall be able to find salvation for ourselves.

Another phenomenon that has occurred in the world today is that this is the age of industrial civilisation. Industrial civilisation emanated and started from Europe and it is fashionable amongst our people to talk in terms as if it is something repugnant, something which we must shun. I think this is not a correct attitude. So, this is what you cannot escape from its impact and ramifications. You cannot shut yourself from all-pervading civilisation. Today, the mass media of communications have improved so much that what occurred in any part of the world gets spread up in a matter of seconds and minutes all over the world. So, how can

you shut yourself off from these things of life and new ideas?

The answer in that case is that let us first of all identify what is really good and beautiful and worth preservation in our civilisation, and there are lot of things which we can preserve and must preserve, and let us also identify good things in the civilisation of other people. Let us graft the two and adjust them to our requirements and conditions. If we do that, we shall be a great people and we shall be able to enter this age of science and technology as fast as possible.

So, these are the tasks ahead of us, and you might notice that, amongst the large number of reforms that have been introduced in this country, the most vital reforms were the educational reforms and that they are based on the ideal requirement that I have described to you. We have to make a major effort in order to be able to cover a faded span of our national life, which normally takes a nation 50 to 100 years, as quickly as possible. We must get on to, what the economists call in terms of economy, a get off stage, a take off stage, and a self-prepared stage of economy as fast as possible, and that we cannot do unless we produce the requisite amount of manpower that is needed to be able to get up to that stage in a country of this size of nearly one hundred million people.

November 26, 1964 *(Collected Speeches—Vol: VII pages 78 to 80)*

OBJECTIVES AND DEVICES

PRESIDENT'S TELEVISION INTERVIEW AT RAWALPINDI ON THE 20TH INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY

MR. ASLAM AZHAR: "You have been at the helm of affairs for the past 9 years and have constantly been engaged in reforms. This anniversary is a mile-post for the nation, for the people of Pakistan. And, on this anniversary, all of us are very interested, deeply interested, in your thoughts. My colleagues and I would like to ask you some questions on the Pakistan movement, and on national issues.

"To begin with, Sir, what are your reactions on this day? How do you feel about it?"

THE PRESIDENT: "Well, I am not given to emotions normally, but on a day like this my heart is filled with feelings and my head is filled with certain thoughts. I am feeling at ease that God has been very kind to our predecessors who had the zeal and courage to fight for Pakistan under the leadership of the great leader, Quaid-i-Azam, and they attained Pakistan in the teeth of tremendous opposition from the British as well as from the Hindus and, in fact, a good deal of opposition from the Muslim people themselves.

"We are very thankful that we got Pakistan, and a man like myself who from my almost young days, after about the age of 20, has been associated with the rulers of our country, you can imagine my joy that I started off as a member of a subject race, though liberal people were our rulers, but felt all the time, what you might call, the agony of being a second class citizen, and then all of a sudden comes the blessing of freedom, of sovereignty, a country for our own. And, personally I myself am very lucky that I got the opportunity to rebuild the Muslim Army after 200 years, and then I had the opportunity to do what little service I could for the Government, for the country, as Head of the State. So, when you come to think of it, a man like myself considers himself very lucky that I have gone through, in my life time, such a vast canvas of our history, and I think people who were similarly placed as I have been must also be feeling the same and must be thankful to God that such a great blessing has come to us, and I would on this occasion emphasize to my countrymen that they must not forget that whatever good has come to any one of us—and I believe that after Pakistan everyone of us has in some manner or the other benefitted—is entirely due to Pakistan. And, if it was not for that we would have been second rate citizens and would have not got our soul back, and we would never have achieved what we have been able to do. We would never have the opportunity to be natural and normal.

"In the time of the British we said something other than what was in our hearts. With the Hindus you would have done the same thing again. Today, we may

like or dislike each other's faces but we say what we feel like. There is no inhibition and there are no taboos. Now, that is from, what you might call it, emotional, spiritual angle, but look at the material angle. Every time I go to Karachi, Lahore, Lyallpur, Dacca, Chittagong, Khulna, any of those cities, I say to myself, now how many Muslims before Partition were living under these conditions, and I think when you come to think of it you cannot name more than a dozen people who lived decently, and today you see thousands and thousands of beautiful buildings all over and this, that and the other.

"So I say, this is a great blessing that we got Pakistan, a great blessing that we got the opportunity of building our country and building our nation. But, at the same time, we must remember that these blessings will only stay as long as we retain and maintain Pakistan and retain and maintain in a position of strength. So, this is, in short, the sum total of my feelings and emotions".

MR. ASLAM AZHAR: "You have just said, Sir, you have just mentioned the forbidding circumstances in which all this began, in which our nation came into this world. And today, of course, sitting where we are, it seems almost hard to believe that the circumstances 20 years ago were forbidding. Now everything seems so wonderful, so easy. But in those days the administrative machinery was virtually non-existent. The Armed Forces had yet to be organised, and at the same time every possible effort was made to strangulate us economically. On top of all this, millions of destitute refugees were compelled to seek shelter in Pakistan.

"What would you consider, Sir, to be the factors which enabled us to overcome these initial difficulties?".

THE PRESIDENT: "Well, I think the basic thing really is the will of the people to live and live as free people in a sovereign country, and also there was a fear that, if we succumbed, we will be finished. I think, on one side a positive factor of living as free people and facing up to these hardships and trials and tribulations, and on the other side the fear that should we fail, Heaven forbid, our future is going to be very very bleak indeed. And the other factor is this that the human animal has got tremendous capacity for suffering provided he has a cause—provided he has a cause. If he has a cause, it is surprising what he cannot undergo. You fellows are probably not familiar, but during the last war I have been to many countries and places where countries were devastated and the nations completely disrupted, and yet they went on, struggled on.

"As long as a man has hope, it is surprising what he can put up with. I have myself lived in trenches without a bath for months and months, living with scorpions, with, what you call it, leeches, with God knows what and so on and so forth, drinking filthy water and yet going on. The meaning of that is that human beings can put up with tremendous sufferings provided they have discipline and provided they have faith in their cause, provided they recognise their cause. And, besides this, our people are tough; there is no doubt about it. Given a modicum of leadership, a sensible leadership, it is surprising what they can rise up to—it is surprising!

Our people have a tremendous capacity for taking punishment, shall we say, from the enemy, and yet rebounding whenever the opportunity occurs".

MR. ASLAM AZHAR: "Therefore, Sir, it seems very clear that the fact that this nation today completes 20 years of its existence is the most effective answer to those political pundits who had once characterised the concept of Pakistan as a geographical impossibility. Would you please comment on this?"

THE PRESIDENT: "Well, you are right—you are right. The demonstration and the proof of Pakistanis' sincere desire to have Pakistan, and the fact that it came into being, and its existence was doubted and so on and so forth, has been falsified by the history of the last 20 years, and today we are at a stage, we have proved that Pakistan's demand was justified, its creation was justified and its further existence is more than justified. Well, the pundits who say that Pakistan is an artificial creation, how can it last with two halves so far apart, economically not viable and perhaps militarily not defensible, I think those arguments are based, first of all, on malice, malice because those that did not want partition of India use this argument.

"Others who were motivated by little more realism thought it would be an unworkable proposition. They felt that a religion after all in a heterogeneous society like in Pakistan—East and West Pakistan, and even within the Province of West Pakistan—how can it really form a nation based entirely on the concept of religion. I think

they ignored history and human nature which says that by and large nationalism is formed on racial affinity, on linguistic affinity, on geographical equations and so on. I think solid nations can be built on ideology, but ideology like ours which talks about the equality of mankind and brotherhood of mankind. It is a very very powerful attractive instrument and I think that is the basis on which it can exist. As soon as it departs from this basis, it will be finished; nothing can hold it together.

"A lot of people talk nonsense that we got Pakistan because we were afraid of Hindu domination or economic domination and so on and so forth. They little realise the mere fact that we were Muslims, and irrespective of the fact when we want to depart from Islam, the races of the world cannot forget that we were Muslims, and certainly the Brahman world cannot forget and they would have treated us as such, in other words, untouchables, and that would have been our position, and so this is the basic cementing factor.

"Distances are there between East and West Pakistan. But, I think a good deal of those disadvantages have been overcome by sensible constitutional arrangements whereby we have delineated powers to the Provinces enormously. Our Provinces are not really autonomous; they are almost independent. The only link with the Provinces the Centre has is an appointed Governor. Remove him and then you have two countries straightaway. There is no other link really, and that was done deliberately in order that each Province can take care of its problems, after getting the necessary directions from

the Centre and necessary resources for development. And that is what is happening. There is the question of communications. I think that has been overcome. True, that we have to fly over India and so on and so forth. Difficulties have arisen in the past over this matter, especially during the last war and so on. But, even if we were cut off, and we were cut off during the last war, the two Provinces were able to run on their own. There is very little need for close dependence on each other. Our constitutional mechanism is devised like that and is working very well.

"Now militarily; although this argument generates heat in the minds of the politicians, but it is a fact that the defence of East Pakistan is best secured from West Pakistan, and that is an absolute military fact which no military thinker can ignore, and it can be proved in many many ways. But having said that, I would like to say that the people must not get into complacency that we have made the grade so far and that we shall continue to do so unless we remember a couple of basic essentials, and the basic essentials to my mind are, first a strong Centre in Pakistan; a strong Central Government. I do not mean a dictatorship, I mean a strong Central Government which cannot be removed by hooligans. Of course, you have got to find a sensible man to head it, and that, of course, is up to the people to find such a man through system of elections; and the other is never forgetting for a moment that our nationalism is based on our ideology and that is the ideology of Islam, the ideology of brotherhood and equality. These two essentials have to be remembered all the time, and any one in

Pakistan who damages these two concepts is really cutting his own throat. He is committing, what the Japanese say, 'harakari'."

MR. Z.A. BOKHARI: "You have taken the keenest interest in the economic development of this country and you are the Chairman of the Planning Commission. Pakistan is quoted as an example of a developing country having utilised its resources to the maximum advantage. May we ask, Sir, what measures you have adopted to achieve this distinction for Pakistan?".

THE PRESIDENT: "Well, I will start off by saying that the aim of all progressive States, certainly the emerging States, should be the welfare of the common man. Welfare of the common man cannot be attained without development, and development cannot be achieved without political stability and economic stability. The basic essential is, we must never forget political stability at all costs. Now, after that, our approach to development was not dogmatic. We were not bound by this philosophy or that philosophy—we were prepapred to select good things in every philosophy, social philosophy, say—therefore our approach is pragmatic. Let us say, let us utilise any organ we can which will give us the best results, whether it is the private sector or the public sector. Now, after having got our, shall we say, minds clear on these essentials we have to proceed to build an instrument, an effective instrument, which will plan sensibly and see how all developmental efforts aim towards moving the society forward within our means, within forseeable means, and to achieve that we created

a Planning Commission and we have been very lucky to find remarkable men to head them.

"Now, that Planning Commission of ours today is one of the finest bodies that any country can have and we can be proud of it. It is a silent organisation. An average person does not hear much about it, but they are doing an enormous job—enromous job—they are all sound, down to earth people and sensible people, and it is remarkable, the type of work they have done. Then, as far as I am concerned, I gave them the fullest support—the planners. And surprising, although my walk of life has been different—I have not been an economist—and yet day and night one talks in terms of economic jargon.

"Now, another factor which contributed to our economic development was one of the normal steps that we have taken, which is to create so many financing and executive bodies in the Centre as well as the Provinces so that they are given their task and resources and allowed to get on without interference by the Secretariat people. In other words, we have tried to cut the red tape as much as possible. Then, of course, our private sector has been extraordinarily buoyant. People have taken to industries and industrialisation and the commerce, and this, that and the other extraordinarily well. Our fear initially was that our people not being used to these tasks they will not really come into these affairs, but they are now in a big way, and in fact if we had more resources, they are capable of absorbing a lot more resources than we can give them.

"And, then of course, our people have worked hard. Without hard work you cannot achieve anything in life —because progress really means production of goods. Production of goods means working and without work you can't. That's the criteria. So, all these factors taken together, which these factors have really moulded —some in the form of infrastructure, some in the form of sound planning and then having the necessary instruments to execute these plans and also the buoyancy of our people and the way they have entered into the spirit of this new way of life—have all contributed to the success we have achieved in our Second Plan".

MR. Z.A. BOKHARI: "We had hardly started with our Third Five-Year Plan when India launched a war on us. Since then we have also been facing problems of securing foreign aid for our Plan. Now, we have just started on the third year of our Third Five-Year Plan. May I ask, Sir, whether we can hope to give as creditable a performance under the Third Plan as we did under the Second?"

THE PRESIDENT: "I think so. I think so. You are quite right. There has been a war with India. There has been a question of us spending lot more resources on food shortage because the last two or three years have been very bad for us, through droughts and floods and this, that and the other and so on and so forth. Naturally, our defence expenditure has gone up because of the stoppage of the American military aid—all these things have put a tremendous pressure on our resources, but in spite of that we have been able to maintain a fair

rate of growth. I think somewhere about five per cent which really is not bad. You are quite right, the getting of aid is becoming more and more difficult. True, that we are getting aid from a large number of countries, but our major contributor is the United States where thinking on aid is really changing very rapidly—because from the quantum of about five billion dollars a year, today they are talking about two-point something, whereas their gross national product is abut 5.7 hundred billion dollars. You see, so aid should have been 7-1/2 billion going by this yardstick of one per cent of the gross national product.

"There are those difficulties, but there are other avenues that are also opening up now. We are getting considerable amount of assistance from the East European countries and other Socialist countries like China and the Soviet Union and so on. So by and large, although the times are going to be difficult but the picture is not bleak. I think we should be able to achieve the Plan's targets, except we may have to extend the period, shall we say, from five years to six years.

"We may have to do that, because my own feeling is, that we do not want to put much burden on our people, because this burden is enormous. Let us say 5,000 crores of rupees of outlay in five years. A tremendous burden. A good deal of it is generated within the country. But there is another happy sign, and that is our economic base is expanding, our internal revenues are increasing. Whereas we were afraid at one time that we may not be able to create, produce internal resources

for our Plan, internal resources do not seem to be presenting a problem this year. And, the external resources, although we are not getting them to the extent that we want and in the shape that we want because a good deal of these resources are in the form of tight loans and difficult loans and high rate of interest, but they are coming, and I think that by and large any luck we should be able to make the grade in the Third Plan too. But, what we have done in the Third Plan is (and that flexibility is always present in our system) we had a Five-Year Plan, then we have an annual development programme, which is thought of very very carefully by the Central organs as well as the representatives of the Provinces, and we keep on varying our priorities in accordance with our needs.

"Now, for instance, currently, we are putting a lot more emphasis on production of food which is our immediate requirement. We are also making certain that we embark on projects that are high yielding, projects of quick, good turn—over yielding projects. And we are trying to cut out, what do you call it, projects which are not labour-intensive, which are capital-intensive, and capital-intensive projects often mean foreign capital-intensive projects. So you see we are doing all those things; I believe that we have every chance of making the grade if everything remains normal from now onwards".

MR. Z.A. SULERI: "Pakistan is a developing country. It is surrounded by big powers. It is in dispute with India. It is emotionally involved in the affairs of the Muslim Middle East. How do you, Sir, in these

circumstances conduct your foreign policy which is independent and set to the pursuit of national interests? What are the concepts on which it is based?"

THE PRESIDENT: "The governing concept is our mental attitude. We have all these objectives in front of us which you have mentioned. We may or may not be able to achieve all these objectives simultaneously. In that case we would be wise to be clear about our priorities that if we have to drop out something what is it we drop. And I think we are quite clear in our mind what the priorities are. Our first priority is the security of Pakistan. Other things take secondary importance. We believe that in order to implement this policy we must live within our political and military means. In other words, we must not buy political and military liabilities. It is not in our interest; it cannot be in our interest. Our requirement is peace. All these objectives can only be achieved if we have peace within country and around us.

"So, therefore, our effort is to live on a level of freindship with other countries, especially the big countries that are around us, and the United States, which has major interests in this part of the world. And, we have considerable dependence on the United States for aid, food, and other things, and so on. This is not an easy policy to pursue, because the big powers are in confiict with each other and we get into, shall we say, the vicious circle of big-power struggle. And, one has to be continually watchful that one does not get into that sort of situation. And, that can only be done if we are careful, if

we maintain our friendship with these countries, without hurting the interests of another country, and making it quite clear to them the limits up to which we can go with each one of them. We must be absolutely honest with ourselves and with other people that we are dealing with.

"Now, I do not say that this philosophy is at once acceptable to everybody or is liked by everybody, but I can say this much that it is beginning to be understood. There is no misunderstanding about it now, you see. But I will say that it is not an easy foreign policy to pursue. My own belief is that we will be able to achieve it better if we pursue it silently, if we do not get worked up over any little thing that happens anywhere else in the world. And, I am now referring to the people of our country. They must remain cool and calm, leave it to the Government, and the Government is after all for the interest of the people, interest of the country, and they have all the information at their disposal. Why not leave it to them and why not say, well, all right, here is an instrument we have created for this purpose, let it get on with this business.

"And, you see, it is very important for the people not to push the Government from the path that it has decided to take. Because if they do, they will suffer. The interests of Pakistan will suffer. As I was saying, our foreign policy is simple but difficult to execute. And, I would beg of our people not to make it more difficult by pronouncing judgments on matters about which they do not have complete knowledge. After all, they have the instrument of the Government who have, or should

have, all the information at their disposal, to be able to chalk out certain policies in a given circumstance. I think that people must be content to trust their Government in a situation like that, because if the people like that, because if the people try and attempt to, what you call it, push the Government, wrong action will be taken and the interest of the country and the people will be hurt in the long run.

"I would also go on a bit further and define independent foreign policy. Let me tell you this, no country in the world is independent today. To say that you will follow a foreign policy in accordance with your will is asking for suicide. What we ought to say is, a national foreign policy, a foreign policy that suits the interests of Pakistan and promotes its aims and objectives. And its aims and objectives are two: its security and its economic development."

MR. Z.A. SULERI: "The Ramsar Summit has marked a complete identity of views between Pakistan, Turkey and Iran on the Middle East which is a most important world issue. It reveals a new pitch in the development of the RCD. What had led to this success and what aspect of the RCD do you consider most vital for Pakistan?"

THE PRESIDENT: "Well, I think basically, it is really self-interest, self-interest on the part of all the three countries. They began to realise that by themselves they will not count much, but together they will have some significance in the eyes of the rest of the world. The

world is now dividing itself into constellations as you know, like the Common Market, like other things that are going on. Attempts have been made in America to have a unified sort of platform for the whole of America, and similarly attempts have been made in Africa and elsewhere. This is one aspect.

"Everyone realises the value of being associated with the others. And the other great value is that because of our long association through this platform that we have created—first of all the Baghdad Pact, then the CENTO and now the RCD—we got to know each other in depth not only in the higher echelons but even lower down too. A large number of our people, the people of the three countries, have met each other and exchanged views with each other, so there is a depth of understanding. In consequence you can talk to each other freely, feel obliged to talk to each other freely, for our own good and for the good of our other friends.

"Now, in this meeting I do not mind telling you that at times there were heated discussions on certain things and no words were minced, not as far as I am concerned. But I had this realisation that I was talking to my friends who trust that I am their wellwisher, and I know that that is why they took it. And, similarly, they said certain things which I did not quite like, but I know that it was being said in our interest, and so apart from any material gain such platforms are of immense value—of huge value".

MR. Z.A. SULERI: "While India's policies seem to be framed in terms of antagonism to Pakistan, Pakistan

has tried hard to create a basis of honourable co-existence with it. And you, Sir, have specially done your best in this direction. Do you visualise a time when there will be a change of heart? "

PRESIDENT AYUB: "If you were to use reason as a basis—rationalism—then I say yes. But so far, those hopes have been falsified. I think it's a basic anathema, basic antagonism. They don't want to see a focus of Muslim power next door to them. They would like to see a weak Pakistan, if at all they want to see it as a separate entity, only in an emaciated form, not a strong Pakistan although it is in their interest. Today, their foreign policy's main aim should be how to patch up with Pakistan. Because, then they can develop their full power, free from all worries.

"All this talk about fear from China is nonsense. The Chinese have no intention of getting into a broil in this vast sub-continent with teeming millions of people and so on and so forth. Why should they? The whole basis of Indian thinking is not realistic, is not rational, and is wasteful. They are really destroying themselves, and in the process destroying us too. All the energies and resources are being utilised on futile ventures, on military build-up, this that and the other. There is no necessity for this. No sane man in Pakistan wants other than peace with India. But, on an honourable basis".

MR. ASLAM AZHAR: "Celebration of the 20th anniversary of our nationhood tempts one to contemplate

the next 20 years. May I ask, Sir, how you visualise Pakistan 20 years hence?"

THE PRESIDENT: "Well, 20 years hence, Pakistan will be what the people of Pakistan make it to be. It is up to the people of Pakistan . If they want to see a strong, prosperous, happy Pakistan, they must stick to those essentials that I have mentioned, prepare themselves for this life of science and technology—and when I say that I refer to the younger generation—and, work hard, remain united and work hard again. If they do that, there is no reason why, God willing, Pakistan should not be a totally different country from what it is today.

"I am saying this from my experience of development, because development has its own philosophy. Its growth is in geometric terms. Once this structure is built, it is surprising how quickly the superstructure expands. In physical terms, we have tried to project what sort of Pakistan we would like to see 20 years hence. We have a 20 years plan. It's a guideline for future planners. Of course, what the people of Pakistan would be able to make of their opportunities is dependent on the world situation.

"There is so much of struggle in the world around, so much of violence, so much of clashes. Would or would there not be a third world war? But God knows what will happen. Then, what sort of relations we have with our immediate neighbour, India? Can we come to some sort of, shall we say, co-existence whereby our and their

resources are not wasted on futile military preparation and so on through fear of each other?. So, if those factors are favourable, people work hard, united, recognize the fact that you cannot build nations and people and countries without hard work, then I do not see any reason why Pakistan should not be a very modern State indeed.

"As a matter of fact I often say to myself, if we were to hold our population around 75 to 80 million, I think in 10 years time we could have had a living standard of some of the European countries. It is with the galloping rate of population growth; unless we check it, our future is very bleak indeed, and I would be less than honest if I did not say so. So, therefore, while we are talking about other things and development, we must also talk about limiting our population growth. It is the greatest menace that we suffer from today, that we are faced with apart from the threat from outside".

MR. ASLAM AZHAR: "Our last question, Sir, concerns your recently published book "Friends Not Masters". We have had the privilege of reading it, and there is no doubt in my mind that this book will come to be considered as the most concise and most eloquent statement of Pakistani thinking and policies on our national and internalional issues. Would you kindly sum up the philosophy behind this book?".

THE PRESIDENT: "Well, philosophy, it is a very difficult question really to answer. All I can say is that this book has been written really, in a way, against my will,

but with this realisation that I have gone through a considerable bit of the important portions of history of this sub-continent. And, I have been closely associated with it, and I had, as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, as the President of this country, taken certain major decisions which have really affected the life of every single individual in this country. And, I think although I have been explaining the reason behind those decisions, they have never been put in a concise form anywhere, in a collective form. And I thought that the present generation and certainly the future generation could benefit from that thinking.

"But the philosophy, as far as Pakistan is concerned, I go back again to what I have already said before. For God's sake don't give up two things. Aim on time to create a strong Centre. Don't get involved in petty political squabblings over theoretical discussions: whether we should have a parliamentary form of Government or this form of Government or that form of Government. Have the sort of Government that will give you stability. Have a sort of Government that will enable you to secure your country. Have a form of Government that will give you unity, a strong Centre, and an Islamic trend.

"This book really tries to bring that out to a certain extent, apart from narration of historical facts and the decisions that were taken and the philosophy behind those decisions. Those decisions, some of the reforms that I have carried out, they are not just, what you call, impulsive things that have happened. They have

happened after a very very careful consideration. A very deep and thorough knowledge of the conditions of the people and the country and so on. And I happen to be one man who thinks, knows every inch of Pakistan, and knows everybody worth anything in Pakistan".

MR. ASLAM AZHAR: "And then, of course, Sir, you have given the book a very thought-provoking title, "Friends Not Masters".

THE PRESIDENT: "Well, of course, mind you, I am not publishing the book but the publishers are other people. They have a good deal of say in giving a title, because they have got to look at the commercial side; whether the book will sell or not. But I think there is some sense in that. And the meaning of that is that several countries are assisting us to develop, assisting us to modernise and so on. They have given us a lot of resources though they are expensive resources in many cases. Now all I wanted to tell them was this, that please do not force your foreign policies on us. Do not ask us to be absolute conformists.

"We live in a different situation, which you may or may not be able to visualise, but we have to live it in the manner we think is the best way. We must have that latitude of maintaining relationships with any country we like, provided it is not at the cost of another country, and that is the meaning of what I said. That your help to us would be meaningful if you allow us to develop our foreign relations in the manner we like, and that manner is that our foreign relations and our contacts

with other people should be such that we do not increase our political and military commitments.

"And once our friends recognize that, then I think they will be really helpful, because then they will help us not only to build economically but to consolidate politically".

MR. ASLAM AZHAR: "My last comment, Sir, is not a question but a request. On this 20th anniversary of the birth of our nation I can find no words to sum up our emotions more effectively than the words you have used at the beginning of Chapter V of your book. And, we would very much like to hear these words read out by the author, by yourself, Sir".

THE PRESIDENT: "Let me see what I have written. 'We crossed a river of blood to achieve independence. 'Our people were uprooted and driven away like leaves by a turbulent gust of fanaticism and blind passion. They were trampled and crushed under the feet of communal fury. Hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children were butchered and the sub-continent was engulfed in a bloody civil war. What sustained us was the abounding faith of our people in their destiny, and their unfaltering devotion to the ideology for which they had secured a mouherland of their own.' Pakistan Paindabad".

August 16, 1967 (*Newspaper Report "The Pakistan Times" Rawalpindi*)

DEMOCRACY SUITS US

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO NEWLY ELECTED OFFICE-BEARERS, COUNCILLORS AND WORKERS OF MUSLIM LEAGUE AT LAHORE.

President Ayub declared that the system of government in Pakistan had to be democratic as "any other form was opposed to our religion, philosophy and way of life".

The President asked the people to keep their personal gains subservient to the national interests. This was for the first time that democracy was being practised in this part of the world, he said.

He said, "Democracy suits us best. Our way of life, our ideology, philosophy, and religion do not permit any other system of government. But we must remember our history. Under the British rule the life was artificial. Before the British regime, the Muslims did rule this part of the world, but it was a period of kings and sultans. People had never been the rulers. So, democracy is new to us and we must learn to practise it.

"The lessons of democracy were simple, provided the people kept in mind two or three things. These were that independence had to be retained and the nation must be welded into a 'millat', and the country must be made safe against internal and external enemies".

August 20, 1967 *(Source : Newspaper Report "The Pakistan Times" Rawalpindi)*

DEFENCE AND DEVELOPMENT

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT DACCA AIRPORT IN REPLY TO AN ADDRESS OF WELCOME

President Ayub declared that the main objectives before the nation at present were defence and development of the country and upgrading of agriculture and economy as a whole.

He said, "On the one hand we have to ensure security and defence of our country, on the other we have to provide food to the people and also to develop Pakistan on a comprehensive basis".

The President said the people should not indulge in political agitation and there should be no confusion and anarchy. "Instead, we should work for complete unity, peace, and harmony and inculcate the spirit of fraternity and brotherhood". Only by doing so the country could develop and prosper, he said.

August 21, 1967 (*Source : Newspaper Report "The Pakistan Times" Rawalpindi*)

UNITY FAITH DISCIPLINE

MESSAGE TO THE NATION ON THE 19TH DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF THE QUAID-I-AZAM

Today we pay homage to the memory of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Under his inspiring leadership, the unorganised and disarrayed Muslims of the sub-continent were welded into a nation and were eventually successful in carving out a homeland for themselves.

During the epoch-making struggle for independence, Muslims of the sub-continent identified their national ideology and forged themselves into a distinct entity on its basis.

Quaid-i-Azam envisioned Pakistan as a repository of our national ideology and values. Let us on this day renew our pledge to steadfastly adhere to the concept and ideals of the Father of the Nation.

On this day, the 19th death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam, we should also evaluate our contribution towards the achievement of the goals set for us by the great leader. We can justifiably be proud that in two decades of our existence, we have been able to make Pakistan into a strong and increasingly prosperous country.

Like all other nations we have had periods of retrogression. But with the grace of God Almighty, today we are confidently marching ahead and consolidating our economic and political gains. A lot of ground has yet to be covered. We have to tackle the tasks of attaining self-sufficiency in food, maintaining the rate of growth and arresting the increase in our population.

We must remember that it was through "Unity, Faith and Discipline" that we were able to win a homeland for ourselves, and by living up to these ideals alone, we can make Pakistan into a progressive and developed society. This is the best homage that we can pay to the Father of the Nation.

September 11, 1967 *(Source : Newspaper Report "The Pakistan Times" Rawalpindi)*

FRESH SENSE OF PURPOSE

MESSAGE ON THE OCCASION OF THE NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF REVOLUTION

Today we complete another year of our national life since October Revolution in 1958. On this day, we cannot but recall the unfortunate sequence of events which pushed the country to the brink of an abyss. It was a perilous moment and God, through His Infinite mercy, helped us to recover ourselves in time. And it has been a grand recovery indeed for which every true Pakistani deserves the highest praise.

The Revolution gave us all a fresh sense of purpose. The last nine years have been years of hard work and we have been able to rebuild various aspects of national life. The constitutional, political, social and economic reforms introduced after the Revolution have struck firm roots and provided the country with a stable framework for progress and development.

The forces of reconstruction released at the time of Revolution should bear us forward. In a developing society, every stage has its own challenges. Our common people have demonstrated their soundness by cooperating in all constructive ventures launched by the Government.

Our intelligentsia has a special responsibility to discharge. Those who have had the benefit of education and have access to sources of knowledge must provide the lead. They have to promote a rational approach to our problems and eschew emotionalism and polemics.

Our foremost need today is to achieve self-sufficiency in food, to check the growth of population and to raise the standard of living of the common man. These objectives call for collective national effort and not merely governmental action. Let us on this memorable day rededicate ourselves to the cause of bringing into existence a welfare society in this beloved land of ours.

October 27, 1967 (*Source : Newspaper Report "The Pakistan Times" Rawalpindi*)

COLLECTIVE EFFORT

FIRST-OF-THE-MONTH BROADCAST

I have said it before that in human life emotionalism has a place of its own. But of utmost importance is collective effort for building a nation, uniting the people and improving their living standards. Such an effort can bear fruit only when we give up slogans, break away from the past of fancies, and employ our brains to ponder over problems and try to solve them calmly. Slogans cannot move mountains nor span rivers.

December 1, 1967 (*Source : Newspaper Report "The Pakistan Times" Rawalpindi*)

APPENDIX

EXTRACTS FROM DESPATCHES OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS WHO COVERED THE INDO-PAKISTAN WAR IN SEPTEMBER 1965

"Nehru was not worried much about aggression when it took Goa. But Shastri has plenty to worry about now, because he is facing penal and disciplinary action by one of the toughest and best trained armies in the world, excellently equipped, excellently led, highly organised and totally dedicated. For himself, he has a motley, disorganised, low morale force of four times as many men as Pakistan, but they cannot or would not fight. They only beg."

'Top of The News'
Washington
September 6, 1965

"At the first the Indian tanks met only police patrols and the Sutlej Rangers, a frontier gendarmerie armed with nothing more than Bren guns.

"Assisted by armed peasants, this force succeeded in holding up 60,000 heavily armoured invaders for five hours in the four-mile strip between the frontier and the Sutlej Canal.

"This gave time for the Pakistani army to arrive and blow up the canal bridge. Then the Air Force came and wreaked havoc on the Indian tanks".

Douglas Brown in
'Sunday Telegraph'
September 12, 1965

"By all accounts the courage displayed by the Pakistan Air Force pilots is reminiscent of the bravery of the young and dedicated pilots who saved this country from Nazi invaders in the critical battle of Britain during the last war".

Patric Seale
'The Observer' London
September 12, 1965

"I have been a journalist now for 20 years and want to go on record that I have never seen a more confident and victorious group of soldiers than those fighting for Pakistan, right now".

Roy Meloni, Correspondent of American Broadcasting Corporation
September 15,1965

"Though now a democratically elected President, Ayub Khan is still a military man and is running Pakistan's side of the war from the map room in his interim capital of Rawalpindi. He rallied his nation and his armed forces with a nationwide broadcast".

The 'Time' Weekly
September 17, 1965

"Pakistan has been able to gain complete command of the air by literally knocking the Indian planes out of the skies if they had not already run away".

'Sunday Times', London
September 19, 1965

"Who can defeat a nation which knows to play hide and seek with death?

"I may or may not remember the Indo-Pakistan war but I will never forget the smile full of nerve the conducting army officer gave me. The smile told me how fearless and brave are the Pakistani young men.

"Playing with fire to these men—from the Jawan to the General Officer Commanding—was like children playing with marbles in the streets.

"I asked GOC, how is it that despite small number you are overpowering the Indians?

"He looked at me, smiled and said. 'If courage, bravery, and patriotism were purchasable commodities, then India could have got them along with American aid' ".

Louis Karrar
The 'Time' Magazine
September 22, 1965

"Contrary to their expectations, Indian Generals have found fighting with Pakistan Forces no mere picnic. Pakistanis have stood like giant rocks before Indian invasion. Reasons for this heroic stand are many, foremost among them is inherent strength of people of Pakistan which they drew from solid social and political unity which Islam has ingrained in their soul. Another reason is strength which Pakistan Forces drew from their modern organisation and armament, in addition to Pakistani soldier's characteristic bravery inherent in the idea of Jehad".

'Al-Difa' *Daily of Jerusalem*
September 23, 1965

"Doubts have often been cast on the Pakistani claims in the air war, which seem excessive. However, after meeting Air Force Chief Marshal Nur Khan and his staff officers, I accept their word unreservedly".

Special Correspondent
The 'Times', London
September 24, 1965

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Pakistan's creation was the result of an ideological struggle, as all genuine struggles are. The ideology which motivated its creation appeared on the stage of history as an international and human movement and guided mankind for several centuries. This is an old ideology, unlike communism or capitalism, but amongst the spiritual ideologies it is the latest, rather the last, to be unfolded to mankind. President Ayub has been pondering over the basic purposes and motivations of this ideology and after assumption of power he has placed clear objectives before the nation. This book embodies his statements on various occasions and reveals the main features of Pakistan's ideology and the objectives to be achieved by the people.